

# SOUVENIR

ORISSA SAHITYA AKADEMI  
SILVER JUBILEE  
1982



# SOUVENIR

EDITOR  
SURENDRA MOHANTY



**ORISSA SAHITYA AKADEMI**  
**SILVER JUBILEE**  
**1982**



उप-राष्ट्रपति, भारत  
नई दिल्ली  
VICE-PRESIDENT  
INDIA  
NEW DELHI

November 16, 1982

### MESSAGE

I am glad to learn that the Orissa Sahitya Akademi is celebrating its Silver Jubilee from 12th to 18th December, 1982.

I send my best wishes for the success of the Celebrations and wish the Akademi continued success.

*M. Hidayatullah*



प्रधान मंत्री कार्यालय  
नई दिल्ली-११००११  
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE  
NEW DELHI-110011.

November 17, 1982

#### MESSAGE

Dear Shri Mohanty,

The Prime Minister sends her good wishes for the Silver Jubilee celebration of the Orissa Sahitya Akademi being held from 12th December, 1982.

Yours sincerely,

*Wajahat Habibullah*



## ବାର୍ତ୍ତା

ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଐତିହ୍ୟ ଏବଂ ଗରତୀୟ ସଂସ୍କୃତି କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଏହାର ଅବଦାନ ସପକ୍ଷରେ ଜନ-ଚେତନାର ଉନ୍ନେଷ ଘଟାଇବା ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଏକାଡେମୀର ରଚିତ ଜୟନ୍ତୀ ଉପଲକ୍ଷେ ଏକାଡେମୀ ପକ୍ଷରୁ ‘ଉତ୍କଳ ଗରତୀ’ ନାମକ ଏକ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଉତ୍ସବର ଆୟୋଜନ କରାଯାଉଥିବା ଆନନ୍ଦର ବିଷୟ । ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଓ ସଂସ୍କୃତି, ଏ ଦୁଇଟି ଦିଗ ଯୁଗ ଯୁଗ ଧରି ସଭ୍ୟତାର ଅଗ୍ରଗତିର ମାପକାଠି ରୂପେ ପରିଗଣିତ ହୋଇ ଆସିଛି । ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସଂସ୍କୃତି ଏବଂ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ସାହିତ୍ୟର ଏକ ଗୌରବମୟ ପରମ୍ପରା ରହିଛି । କିନ୍ତୁ କୌଣସି ସଂସ୍କୃତି ବା ସାହିତ୍ୟ କେବେ ସ୍ଥାଣୁ ହୋଇ ରହିନପାରେ । ଏହି ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସଂସ୍କୃତି ଓ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ସାହିତ୍ୟକୁ ଅଧିକ ରକ୍ଷିତ କରି ସର୍ବଗରତୀୟ ତଥା ଆନ୍ତର୍ଜାତିକ ସ୍ତରରେ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠିତ କରାଇବା ଦିଗରେ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ସାଧନା ଓ ଉଦ୍ୟମର ଆବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହିଛି । ମୋର ବିଶ୍ୱାସ, ରଚିତ ଜୟନ୍ତୀ ଏବଂ ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ଉତ୍ସବ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଏକାଡେମୀ ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଏକ ଅନୁକୂଳ ବାଟାବରଣ ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିବାରେ ସହାୟକ ହେବ ।

ଏହି ଅବସରରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଓ ସଂସ୍କୃତିପ୍ରେମୀ ଜନସାଧାରଣଙ୍କୁ ଅଭିନନ୍ଦନ ଜଣାଇବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ମୁଁ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଏକାଡେମୀର ରଚିତ ଜୟନ୍ତୀ ଉତ୍ସବର ସର୍ବାଙ୍ଗୀନ ସଫଳତା କାମନା କରୁଛି ।

ଜାନକୀ ବଲ୍ଲଭ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ

**MINISTER**  
Education & Youth Services, Orissa



**BHUBANESWAR**

11th November, 1982

**MESSAGE**

**Dear Sri Mohanty,**

I am happy to learn that Orissa Sahitya Akademi is celebrating its Silver Jubilee from 12th December to 18th December, 1982 with a cultural festival.

Sahitya Akademi has been functioning as an effective medium during the 25 years of its existence to enrich the language and culture of the State, patronise literature, arts and preserve and protect our rich cultural heritage.

I wish the celebrations all success.

Yours sincerely,

*Gangadhar Mohapatra*

ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରମତୀ  
ଶ୍ରମ, ନିଯୁକ୍ତି, ପର୍ଯ୍ୟଟନ, ଖେଳ ଓ ସଂସ୍କୃତି  
ଓ ଡି ଶା



ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର  
ତା ୨୬ । ୧୧ । ୮୨

## ବାର୍ତ୍ତା

ଆଗାମୀ ତା ୧୨ । ୧୨ । ୮୨ ରିଖଠାରୁ ୭ଦନ ବ୍ୟାପି ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଏକାଡେମୀର ରଚିତ ଜୟନ୍ତୀ ଉତ୍ସବ ପାଳନ କରାଯାଉଛି । ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଏକାଡେମୀର ଗଠନ କାଳଠାରୁ ଅବ୍ୟାବଧି ଓଡ଼ିଆ ସାହିତ୍ୟର ଅଭିବୃଦ୍ଧି କରିବା ପାଇଁ ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଏକାଡେମୀ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସମୟରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରକାରେ ସେବା କରି ଆସିଅଛି । ଏଥିପାଇଁ ଏହାର ଭୂମିକା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖଯୋଗ୍ୟ । ରଚିତ ଜୟନ୍ତୀ ଆସରରେ ଯେଉଁ ମନୋରମ ଉତ୍ସବର ଆୟୋଜନ କରାଯାଉଛି ତାହା ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଲେଖକ, କଳାକାର ଓ ସଂସ୍କୃତି ସମ୍ପନ୍ନ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିମାନଙ୍କୁ ଏକାଠି କରାଇ ଏକ ମଧୁମୟ ପରିବେଶ ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିବାରେ ସହାୟକ ହେବ ।

ଏ ଉତ୍ସବ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ସାହିତ୍ୟ ଆକାଶରେ ନୂତନ ଦିଗର ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିବ ଏ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ ଆମ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କର ରହିଛି ।

ମୁଁ ଏ ଉତ୍ସବର ସର୍ବାଙ୍ଗୀନ ସଫଳତା କାମନା କରୁଛି ।

ଯୁଗଳ କିଶୋର ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ

अध्यक्ष, राजस्थान साहित्य अकादमी

246, भूपालपुरा,  
उदयपुरा-313 001

### MESSAGE

Dear Shri Mohanty,

I am pleased to know that on the auspicious occasion of Silver Jubilee Festival of Orissa Sahitya Akademi, you have planned to publish a Souvenir.

Sahitya Akademi's are meant for providing suitable facilities to the creative writers of their respective area. Orissa is as rich as our Rajasthan in its cultural heritage and literary past. It has contributed a lot to the sum total of Indian culture and literature. I hope that your Souvenir will project the positive and creative contribution of Oriya literature in the perspective of its magnificent past.

I wish grand success to the Silver Jubilee celebrations of Orissa Sahitya Akademi.

Thanks.

With regards,

*Dr. Prakash Alur*



**THE SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS,  
OF  
ORISSA SAHITYA AKADEMI**

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SRI ARJUN CH. SAMAL	
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SRI S. K. NANDA, Chief Engineer, O.S.E.B.	

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DIRECTOR, TOURISM, SPORTS & CULTURE	
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*Asst. Secretary*

# Editorial

Silver Jubilee Celebrations are occasions for drum-beating and indulgence in self complacency. But Orissa Sahitya Akademi, has most humbly devoted its Jubilee Celebrations to the visual depiction of the evolution of Oriya literature and culture, in its widest spectrum, in the shape of an exhibition, entitled "UTKALA BHARATI". To what extent our efforts have succeeded, will be judged by the people. But, that we have made a breakthrough in the direction, will not be denied even by our fiercest critics.

Oriya is a part of what is known as Eastern Prakrit or Magadhi Apabhramsa—an important evolution of the Indo-Aryan languages' in which the Prakrit died and the vernaculars were born. It is a curious fact that the evolution of vernaculars in Europe, where the common literary medium was Latin, took place almost contemporaneously with that of the vernaculars in India—barring Tamil—where the literary medium was Sanskrit.

Between 1000 A.D. and 1400 A.D. Oriya literature seems to have crystalised, the earliest germination of which can be noticed in the "*Charyapada*". M. M. Haraprasad Sastri who had discovered the manuscripts of "*Charyapada*" in the Library of the Maharaja of Nepal, in the last century, has unambiguously mentioned this fact in his scholarly introduction to "*Budha Gana O Doha*".

Though Sarala Das (Circa 15th Century) is hailed as the *Adi Kavi* or the Father of Oriya literature for his *Magnus opus*, the Mahabharata in Oriya, he must have had predecessors in whose writings the Oriya language had achieved malleability to enable Sarala Das to compose the Oriya Mahabharata in a chiseled and elegant form. Though that rich treasure written on palm leaves, is lost to posterity the *Kalasa Chautisa* of Bachha Das and *Kesaba Koili* of Markanda Das bear solitary testimony to that rich heritage.

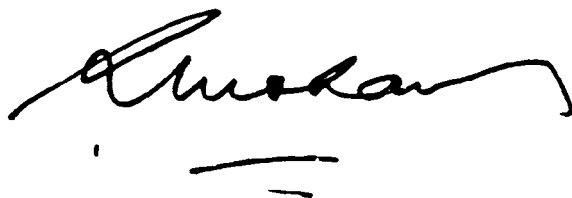
The Mahabharata of Sarala Das was not just a translation of the Sanskrit epic. It was a re-creation of the original theme in the historical, cultural and spiritual context of Orissa. It is a unique work and a rich treasure house of Orissan culture.

The ornate Kavyas of 17th-19th century in Oriya literature is unique both in style and form. Though ornateness in Kavyas is noticed in the contemporary Telugu literature, in both quantity and quality the Baroque Kavya literature in Oriya, claims a unrivalled distinction.

As in other Indian literatures, the Modern age began towards the close of the 19th century. The Modern period of Oriya, is as rich as varied. Phakira Mohan Senapati, who is hailed as the *paterfamilia* of Oriya novels and short stories, introduced social realism in Indian novel for the first time in his novel "*Chha Mana Atha Gunth*" published towards the close of the 19th Century. It is still considered a classic in Oriya literature. The short story *Rebati* can be considered as one of the best shortstories produced in any Indian literature in the contemporary period. Radhanatha Rai whose poetic genius had its early efflorescence in Bengali, wrote *Maha Yatra* in Oriya, a Kavya of epic grandeur in blank verse.

The pre-independence period in Oriya literature was also rich and varied. The post-independence period in Oriya literature brought new generations of proseateurs and poets on the scene, who have considerably expanded the dimension of the Oriya literature. We are looking forward to a bright future notwithstanding the temporary decadence, which is inevitable in the history of every literature.

The development of contemporary Oriya literature is suffering under certain constraints, over which it has no control. The social economical and technological conditions have thwarted its fuller growth. What is lacking is an infrastructure which only the State can provide. As it is, literature has the unenviable distinction of enjoying the lowest priority both in the lives of the people and the planning of the Government. The Orissa Sahitya Akademi will sincerely strive to provide that infrastructure which can motivate the young generation of writers, who have the potentialities of making valuable contributions not only to the Oriya literature but to the Indian literatures as a whole.



This Souvenir is being released on the occasion of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee function of the Orissa Sahitya Akademi in the form of a cultural festival entitled "Utkal Bharati" commencing from 12th Dec. '82.

A Souvenir is a thing given, bought or kept to recall the past ; a memento for a particular occasion. The articles and features contained in this Souvenir not only depict the past and project the same in all its pristine glory but also show its dynamism and promise in the present, commensurate with the theme of "Utkal Bharati" which is "continuity with change".

A host of distinguished scholars, literateurs and artists have contributed articles to this Souvenir. We hope this Souvenir would not only serve as a memorial to our past on the eve of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the Akademi but also serve as a memento in years to come.

*Raicharan Das*

SECRETARY

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## OBITUARY



Sri Akhilmohan Patnaik, who suddenly passed away on 29.11.82, has left a distinctive imprint on contemporary Oriya short-story. In spite of his small output, due to his professional pre-occupations in a busy legal practice, qualitatively he was superb. He belonged to the first generation of the short-story writers, in the post-independence period. He never wrote for name or fame, nor he took to writing as a profession. Writing was a facet of his colourful personality. He wrote just for the pleasure of it. He always emerged a romantic and humanist in his most successful short-stories, though he had a cultivated cynicism in his manners. One of his earliest short-stories, written in the Sixties, "*Jhadara Eagal O Dharanira Krushnasara*" immediately marked him out as a major short story writer. He was awarded the prestigious Central Sahitya Akademi Award for his anthology of short-stories "*O'Andhagali*" for 1981. "*Lampoprotra itikatha*" and "*Chandrara Abhisapa*" etc. are some of his most memorable short-stories.

He was born in 1927 in Khurda. His father Bankanidhi Patnaik was a distinguished Head Master and short-story writer. Akhilmohan was successful both in law and literature, yet he was attached to none. He was indifferent towards both. It was life and its agonies and joys, to which he was deeply attached.

Softspoken and urbane in manners he could be caustic and devastating in his wit and repartees. As the Chief Editor of "*Samabesha*", a literary magazine, he had set a new standard in editing literary journals.

Death is no respecter of human wishes. Akhil Babu was eagerly awaiting to participate in the Silver Jubilee Celebrations of Orissa Sahitya Akademi. But the icy hands of Death snatched him away, just on the eve of it. We deeply mourn his loss. The grief is too deep for tears.

SURENDRA MOHANTY  
Editor



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Historical Geography of Orissa, is fascinating, though more often than not, is confusing. At various periods of History, Orissa was known under various names, like Kalinga, Utkala and Orissa. Since the Solar Dynasty Kings ( 15th-16th Century ) the land came to be definitively known as Orissa. Dr. N. K. Sahu, an eminent historian, in the following paper, discusses that fascinating subject with a scholarly perspective.—*Ed.*

## HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ORISSA

Dr. N. K. SAHU, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

The territories of Kalinga, Utkala ( Ukkala ) and Odra are very likely named after the people who inhabited in those lands. The early Sanskrit and Pali works refer to people called Kalingah ( Kalinga ), Utkalah ( Ukkala ) and Odrah ( Oddaka ) and there is reason to say that the territories predominantly inhabited by those people were named respectively as Kalinga, Utkala and Odra. Medhatithi(1) while writing the commentary on Manu rightly remarks that the Odra country might have derived that name from the Odra tribe. But the compilers of the Puranas present interesting episodes indicating the origin of the territories mentioned above. According to tradition preserved in the Matsya, Vayu and Padma Puranas, one of the ten sons of Vaivaswata Manu was a Kimpurusha called Ila-Sudyumna who as Ila became the mother of Pururavas and Sudyumna the father of three sons—Utkala, Vinitasva and Gaya. These three sons ruled over the territories which were respectively named after them(2). Thus Utkala was so named as it came under the rule of Prince Utkala. Another tradition of the Puranas(3) states that the blind sage Dirghatamas begot on Sudeshna, the queen of King Bali, five sons named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga,

Pundra and Sumha and the Bhagavata Puranas(4) adds a sixth son of Dirghatamas by Queen Sudeshna named Odra. These six sons were responsible for foundation of six kingdoms named respectively after them. The Puranic traditions regarding the origin of Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and other territories are mythical by nature and cannot be regarded as historical.

### KALINGA

The ancient land of the Kalinga people extended up to the Ganges' mouths in the north and the mouths of the Godavari in the South. The Vana-parva of the Mahabharata(5) indicates the mouths of the Ganges as the northern limits of the territory of Kalinga. According to Pliny(6) the southern limits extended up to the Cape Calingae which has been identified with point Godavari at the mouths of the same river. On the basis of Megasthenes' writings Pliny divides the land of the people of Kalinga into three regions as Gangarides Calingae, Mace Calingae and Calingae, the river Ganges forming the north-eastern boundary of Gangarides Calingae and the Godavari the south-eastern limits of Calingae(7). The western limits sometimes extended

up to the Amarakantak hills as known from the Puranas(8), while the sea formed the natural eastern boundary. The Capital of Kalinga is named as Dantapura in the Buddhist literature(9) and as Dantakara in the epic(10) and it is identified with Dandagula of Pliny who locates it about 570 miles to the south of the Ganges' mouths.

The extent of Kalinga appears to be more or less the same as mentioned above during the period from the Mahabharat war to Mahapadmananda when as many as thirty-two kings ruled over that territory. The last king of this series was defeated and killed by Mahapadmananda who occupied Kalinga with her full territorial extent. By that time the capital was located at Pithunda which is referred to by the Greek writers(11), the Hathigumpha inscription and also by the Jaina works like the Uttaradhyayana Sutra(12). The metropolis of Pithunda was destroyed by Mahapadmananda.

When Chandragupta Maurya overthrew the Nanda rule Kalinga became independent for a short time, but was reconquered by Asoka in 261 B.C. and formed a part of the Maurya empire. Under the Maurya rule Toshali became the headquarters of Kalinga where a Viceroy was posted and a Secondary headquarters then developed at Somapa near modern Jaugada in Ganjam district. Toshali has been referred to by the Greek Geographer Ptolemy(13) as Toshali and it is identified with the modern village Dhauli in Puri district.

In the 1st century B.C. Kalinga was made independent by the Chedi King Mahameghavahana and during the rule of Kharavela the third ruler of that dynasty she became a strong and prosperous power. The Capital of the Chedi rulers was located at Kalinganagari

which is identified with modern Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar.

Early in the Second century A.D. Kalinga was occupied by the Satavahana monarch Gautamiputra Satakarni and during the next century she came under the rule of a foreign power called the Murundas. When she emerged from obscurity about 350 A.D. under the rule of the Matharas, we find her confined to the region from the Mahanadi in the north and the Godavari and some time the Krishna in the south (14). The territory between the Ganges and the Mahanadi was permanently lost to Kalinga. The capital of Kalinga under the Matharas was at Simhapura which was a prosperous city. It was probably the same city where the palace of king Hemangada as described by the poet Kalidasa was located on the sea shore close to the Mahendra hills(15).

When the Eastern Gangas appeared about 500 A.D. the territorial limits of Kalinga diminished further and we find her confined to a narrow coastal tract from the Rishikulya in the north to the Nagavali in the south. The capital of the Gangas developed at Kalinga nagara, identified with modern Mukhaligram on the Vansadhara river. But the Ganga Kingdom began to expand from the time of Vagrahata V (1038-70 A.D.) and under Chodagangadeva (1077-1147 A.D.) it reached the traditional limits—Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south. But this extensive kingdom which was the ancient land of the Kalinga people was by that time not designated as Kalinga. The Ganga kings declared this kingdom as Sakalotkala or simply Utkala.

Under the Suryavansi Gajapati monarchs Kalinga constituted a small political unit called Kalinga Dandapata, and that continued as a fiscal division during the rule of the Moghuls(16). In

the revenue records of the Moghuls we find the name 'Sircar Calinga Dundpat'. When in 1750 the Nizam of Hyderabad ceded the coastal territory called the Northern Sircars to the French, the Calinga Dundapat was the northernmost of those Sircars. The British took over the Northern Sircars in 1759 and by that time the Sircar Calinga Dundpat passed by the name Chicacole Sircar.

### TRIKALINGA

The Greek Geographer Ptolemy (150 A.D.) refers to a territory called Triglypton or Trilingon which according to Gerini(17) is the same as the "Kingdom consisting of three districts or separate communities called Trikalina or Trilinga". Mc Crindle(18) is of opinion that Macco-Calingae or Modogalinga may be taken to be the hellenic form of Trikalina. Excepting this Greek sources we do not find any reference to Trikalina in literary or epigraphic records before the 6th century A.D. Trikalina as a separate kingdom with its Capital at Dantapura is first noticed in the Jirjingi grant of Indravarman-I (19) dated 537 A.D. and in the Ponnuturu grant of King Samantavarman (20) dated 562 A.D. After that we do not come across this name till 1038 A.D. the time of the Ganga King Vajrahasta V. Chodagangadeva (21) states that Kamarnavadeva the Progenitor of the Gangas of Kalinga was the founder of the kingdom of Trikalina. The records of the Eastern Chalukyas, as well as those of the Eastern Gangas distinguish the Trikalina territory from Kalinga.

The Srirangam plates of Mummandi Nayak (22) dated 1358 A.D. states that the territory of Trikalina was located to the west of Kalinga and east of Maharashtra, while it extended from Kanyakuvja in the north to the land of the Pandyas in

the south. Very probably a place called Kanyakuvja, named after the famous Kanyakuvja of northern India was there to the north of Trikalina, the southern limit of which may be fixed in the light of The Masulipatam plates of Amma-I (916-925 A.S.) which state Vengimandala adjoins the Trikalina-tavi (23). It may be said that Trikalina-tavi was the same as the Atavika territory of the Edicts of Asoka and the Vidyadhara territory of Hathigumpha inscription. The Khoh Copper plates of Samkshyobha(24) (528 A.D.) and the Kanasa copper plates of Lokavighraha(25) (600 A.D.) refer to the Ashtadasa-tavirajya which may be the same as Trikalina. This territory roughly comprised the Bastar, Koraput and Kalahandi regions.

### UTKALA

According to the epics and the early Puranas the territory of the people of Utkala was located close to the Vindhya along with the lands of the Karashas, Mekalas, Uttamarnas and Dasarnas (26). The Vinaya Pitaka (27) and the Jatakas (28) speak of the Ukkala Janapada situated outside the Majjima Desa. In early Indian literature the Utkalas are almost always associated with the Nekalas and it appears that the ancient land of the Utkala people was located at the neighbourhood of the Maikal hills which link the Vindhya with the Satpura hills. Unlike the people of Kalinga the Utkala people did not play any important role in the political history of ancient time. They are not known to have taken part in the Mahabharata war and even during the period of the Nanda and the Maurya rule they remained an obscure people. In the 1st century B.C. when Kalinga rose to the height of glory under Kharavela, Utkala remained unknown as a political power. That, however, does not mean that the

Utkalas had no territorial existence during ancient period. The early Buddhist literature reveals that the people of Utkala were carrying on trade with Northern India and were noted for their activities in religion and culture(24).

During the early Christian centuries the Utkala people seem to have shifted from the Vindhyan region to the eastern territory bordering the sea, and their new land came to be known as Toshala. Early reference to the territory of Toshala is found in the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata (30), the Buddhist work *Gandavyuha* (31) and also in the *Atharva Veda Parisishtha* (32). By the 4th Century A. D. Toshala was an extensive territory and was divided into Northern and Southern Toshalas (or Toshalis). The Asanpat inscription of Maharaja Satrubhanja, ascribed to the 4th century A.D. refers to Ubhaya Toshalis(33).

The name Utkala revived about 400 A.D. The *Raghuvamsa* (34) of Kalidasa indicates that Utkala by the time of the poet was located in between Vanga and Kalinga. Although the river Kapisa, the modern Kasai in Midnapore district, formed the northern boundary of Utkala, her southern limits which touched the northern borders of Kalinga are not clearly demarcated by the poet. The epigraphic records of the Mathara kings reveal that Kalinga under their Suzerainty extended over the Coastal tract from the Godavari (some time from the Krishna) in the south to the Mahanadi in the north. That clearly indicates that the Mahanadi river formed the southern boundary of Utkala. This territory of Utkala extending more or less from the Kapisa to the Mahanadi came to be known as Uttara Toshali by the time the Soro Copper Plate grant of the time of Maharaja Sambhuyasas(35) dated

580 A.D. was issued. It may be stated that about this time Prithivi-vigraha who ruled over the kingdom south of the Mahanadi declared himself as king of Kalinga rashtra(36). He probably claimed suzerainty over the territory of Kalinga extending from the Rishikulya to the Nagavali over which the Eastern Gangas were ruling. But Lokavigraha, the successor of Prithivi-vigraha declared his kingdom as Dakshina Tosali and not Kalinga rashtra, apparently relinquishing his claim over Kalinga, the territory of the Eastern Ganges. Thus towards the close of the 6th century Uttara Toshali under Sambhuyasas extended from the river Kapisa to the Mahanadi while Dakshina Toshali under Lokavigraha extended from the Mahanadi in the north to the Rishikulya in the south. In 602-603 A.D., Sambhuyasas occupied Dakshina Toshali and unified both the Tosalis under his sceptre (37). But the political Geography changed when some time before 620 A.D. Sasanka occupied both the Tosalis. Dakshina Toshali under the Sailodbhava ruler Madhavaraja-II who was a feudatory of Sasanka came to be known as Kangoda mandala, while Uttara Toshali along with Dandabhukti (modern Midnapore dist.) under another feudatory chief Somadatta was named as Utkala. In 621 A.D. the situation suddenly changed when Harshavardhana crushed Sasanka and occupied Utkala and the territory beyond the Mahanadi probably extending up to the Chilka lake. Somadatta was allowed to continue as Governor and the territory occupied by Harshavardhana was consolidated and designated as 'Odra Vishaya'(38). In 639 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang refers to this territory as Wu-cha (Odra) which was according to him 7000 li or 1400 miles in circuit(39). Yuan-Chwang further reported that the city of Cheli-ta-lo (Siri-tara - Sriksheṭra, the middle

letter 'Kshe' being omitted) was located in the south-east of this country and that the monastery of *Peu-sie-po-ki-li* (*Pushpagiri*) in the south-west border of it. *Pushpagiri* is not satisfactorily identified, but the modern *Ratnagiri* in *Cuttack* district cannot be the same as *Pushpagiri*. *Odra Vishaya* (*Wu-cha*) under *Harshavardhana* was obviously an extensive kingdom and the capital was probably located at *Viranja* (*Viraja*).

*Kongodamandala* which was then squeezed in between *Odra vishaya* and *Kalinga* of the *Gangas* continued as an independent territory till 642 A.D. when *Pulakesin-II* the rival of *Harshavardhana* died in the battle at the hands of *Pallava Narasimhavarmar* and after that *Harshavardhana* was free to annex that Kingdom to his growing empire.

After the death of *Harshavardhana* in 647 A.D. the far flung *Odra vishaya* collapsed and *Uttara Toshali* or *Utkala* revived under the rule of the *Dattas*. But the history of this territory remained obscure for about a century and with the rise of the *Bhauma-Karas* in 736 A.D. we find a new political situation in that region. The *Bhaumas* drove away the *Sailodbhavas* from *Kongoda* and exercised their suzerainty over *Toshali* extending from the *Ganges* in the north to the *Mahendra hills* to the south. This kingdom was also divided into *Uttara Toshali* and *Dakshina Toshali*, the *Mahanadi* river being probably the dividing line(40). The *Bhauma* capital was at *Guheswara pataka* which was distinct from *Viraja* and is not satisfactorily identified at present.

#### THE BHAUMA-KARAS

The *Bhauma-Kara* rule ended about 960 A.D. after the death of *Dharma mahadevi*, the last monarch of that

house and the *Dakshina Toshali* portion was occupied by the *Somavamsi* king *Dharmaratha* who renamed that territory as *Kongoda*(41). *Uttara Toshali*, then named as *Utkala* was incorporated with the *Somavamsi* kingdom about 1023 A.D. when *Mahasivagupta Yayati-II* ascended the throne(42). Both *Uttara* and *Dakshina Toshalis* were unified and the united territory came to be known as *Utkala*. The *Somavamsi* kingdom was divided into two main units—*Kosala* in the west and *Utkala* in the east. The earlier capital was located at *Yayatinagara* on the *Mahanadi* identified with *Jagati* near *Baudh*, but later on after incorporation of *Utkala*, the new capital probably developed at *Viraja* which was renamed *Yayatinagara*.

*Chodagangadeva*, the *Ganga* king of *Kalinga* occupied *Utkala* in 1110 A.D. while the *Koshala* portion was conquered by the *Kalachuri* King *Jajjaladeva* in 1114 A.D. Subsequently about 1220 A.D. *Anangabhimadeva-III* succeeded in taking possession of *Kosala* and unified both *Utkala* and *Kosala*(45). The *Ganga* empire since the time of *Chodagangadeva* was known as *Utkala* or *Sakalotkala* till the end of the *Ganga* rule. In 1435 A.D. *Kapileswardeva* founded the rule of the *Suryavansi Gajapatis* and from that time onwards the Kingdom was called *Oda Rashtra* or *Odisha Rajya*(46).

#### MANDALA STATES

The earliest known *Mandala* was *Kongoda* over which the *Sailodbhavas* ruled from the later part of the 6th century up to the 1st quarter of the 8th century A.D. During its palmy days in the 7th century this *Mandala* extended from the *Mahanadi* in the north to the *Mahendra hills* in the south. According to *Yuan-Chwang* it was a hilly country



bordering on the sea (the Chilka lake) and was about 1000 Li or 200 miles in circuit(47). The capital was at Kongoda vasaka identified with Bankada on the bank of the Salima the present rivulet Salia. Kongoda mandala was occupied by the Bhauma-Karas about 736 A.D. and under their rule it formed a district (vishaya) of Dakshina Toshali. When the Somavamsis occupied Dakshina Toshali they named that division as Kongoda but subsequently both the Toshalis were united under the name Utkala, as a result of which Kongoda lost its political existence.

### SVETAKA

This territory was established in the 8th century A.D. by a branch of the Ganga ruling family to the north-east of the Mahendra hills. It comprised the ex-Zamindaries of Sanakhimedi, Badakhimedi and Chikiti of Ganjam district. The capital Svetakapura is identified with modern Chikiti about 20 miles from Berhamapur(48). The Svetaka Gangas were the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas and their rule came to an end with the fall of their overlords the Bhauma-Karas in the third quarter of the 10th century A.D.

### KODALAKA

This Mandala was organised by the Sulkis who according to Taranath were a foreign tribe like the Tukharas (kushans). There are often referred to by ancient Indian literature and epigraphs. In the 8th century A.D. a branch of this family ruled over the territory called Kodalka mandala comprising roughly the present Dhenkanal dist. and the Nayagarh subdivision of Puri district. Their headquarters was at Kodalka identified with modern Kualo which is rich in antiquities(49). The Sulkis were the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas but in course of time they attempted to

assume independence and challenged the authority of their overlords. So the Bhauma-Karas put an end to their rule and divided Kodalka mandala into two territories (mandalas) called Jamagartta and Airavatta, the River Mahanadi being the dividing line.

### JAMAGARTTA

This Mandala was formed in the second half of the 9th century out of the ruins of the Kodalka mandala. It comprised the northern part of modern Dhenkanal district and some portion of Keonjhar district. Rulers of the Tunga family ruled over this Mandala as feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. The capital was at Jamagartta on the river Mandakini(50). This river is identified with the rivulet Mankara a tributary of the Brahmani and Jamagartta with the present village Jamra.

### AIRAVATTA

The Nandodbhavas ruled over Airavatta mandala comprising the southern part of Dhenkanal district, western part of Cuttack district and Nayagarh sub-division of Puri district. The capital Jayapura is identified with the village of the same name in southern Dhenkanal district(51). The Nandodbhavas were the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas and after the fall of the latter, they owed allegiance to the Somavamsis.

### KHINJALI

The Khinjali Mandala was established by the Bhanjas in the 8th century A.D. in Sonapur, Baud and Phulvani region with their capital at Dhrutipura identified with modern Baud. The Bhanjas ruled over this territory as feudatories of the Bhauma-karas, but during the time of Ranabhanja (2nd half of the 9th century) they challenged the authority of their over lords. When

the Somavamsi king Janamejaya invaded Khinjali mandala the Bhauma-Karas did not come to the rescue of the Bhanjas and Ranabhanja was defeated and killed as a result of which Sonapur-Baud region was occupied by the Somavamsis and the Bhanjas being driven out to Ganjam region established new Khinjali mandala comprising the area from Dasapalla in Puri district up to Kulada in Ganjam district. The capital was located at Vanjulvaka identified with modern Hinjlikatu on the Rushikulya river(52)

In the 12th and 13th centuries we find a branch of the Bhanjas ruling over Khinjali with headquarters at Kulada Kataka. By that time another branch ruled over the territory which was under the early Bhanjas of Dhrutipura house. Kulada continued to be the headquarters of the Bhanja kingdom of Ghumsur as late as 1836 when the kingdom merged with the British territory. The rule of the Bhanja family of Baud came to end on 1st Jan. 1948.

#### KHIJJINGA

This Mandala was established by a branch of the Bhanja after the Bhanja house of Dhrutipura was ousted by the Somavamsis. The Khijjinga territory comprised the modern district of Mayurbhanja and a part of Keonjhar district with headquarters at Khijjinga Kotta, modern Khiching. Khijjinga kotta was destroyed by Purushottama a general of the Kalachuri King Ratnadeva-II about 1130 A.D.(53) and subsequently by Firuz Shah Tughluq in 1361 A.D. Sometimes after that the headquarters of the Bhanjas shifted to Hariharpur. Towards the close of the 18th century Hariharpur was destroyed by the Marathas and early in the 19th century (1803-04) Sumitradevi the Bhanja Queen transferred the capital to Baripada which continued to be the

headquarters till the end of the Bhanja rule on 1st Jan., 1949.

#### DANDABHUKTI

This territory comprising the modern Midnapore district came to light early in the 8th century when Sasanka the ruler of Karnasuvarna occupied it along with Utkala(54). During the rule of Harshavardhana both Dandabhukti and Utkala constituted Odravishaya. In the 10th century Dandabhukti flourished as a mandala under the rule of a branch of the Bhanjas who owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas. Later on Dandabhukti came under the suzerainty of the Palas but subsequently the Ganga king Chodagangadeva occupied that region up to the mouths of the Ganges. Two important vishayas of Dandabhukti were Tamala Khanda and Dakshina Khanda which continued as the Parganas of Tamiuk and Dakinmal respectively during the Moghul rule(55).

#### BONAI

In the 10th century A.D. Bonai mandala was established by the Mayuras who belonged to the famous Maurya dynasty. The Mayuras were the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. There was good relation between the Mayuras of Bonai mandala and the Bhanjas of Khijjinga and in subsequent time the Bhanja kingdom was known as Mayurabhanja after the names of these two ruling families. An important vishaya (district) of Bonai mandala was named Bokela which is identified with modern Rourkela.(56)

Bonai continues to the present time as the name of an administrative unit.

#### KOSHALA

According to the Ramayana(57) Rama divided his kingdom between



Lava and Kusa of whom the former got Uttara Kosala and ruled from Sravasti and the latter got Dakshina Kosala and founded the city of Kusasthalipura in the Vindhya region. The Vanara kingdom of Kishkindhya and the Rakshasa territory of Lanka apparently constituted the kingdom of South Kosala obtained by Kusa. Kusasthalipura may be the same as Kusavati described in the Jaina Jambudiva Pannatti(58). In the Kurukshetra battle we find Brihadvala of South Kosala fighting on the side of the Kauravas and Dirghayajna, the king of Ayodhya ( of North Kosala ) on the side of the Pandavas. The conflict between the two Kosalas continued even at the time of Buddha as known from the Avadana Sataka(59). The North Kosala was annexed to Magadha by Ajatashatru in the 6th century B.C., while the South Kosala continued for two centuries more and was annexed to the empire of Magadha in the 4th century B.C. by Mahapadmananda. Sometimes after Mahapadma the Chedirashtra was founded by Abhichandra near the Vindhya in the Suktimati river valley which was flowing in the heart of ancient South Kosala(60). Suktimati is identified with the Suktel river in Balangir district.

The Vanaparva of the Mahabharata (61) locates Rishabha tirtha, Kala tirtha and Badarika tirtha in south Kosala and that is corroborated by the Gunji rock inscription(62) in which we find Rishabha tirtha in that region. The Puranas refer to the Megha dynasty of Kosala associating them with the people of the Vindhya regions. According to the Puranic literature nine Megha kings ruled over Kosala before the rise of the Guptas(63). The Allahabad pillar inscription mentions king Mahendra of Kosala who was defeated by Samudragupta about 350 A.D.(64). Kosala by that time roughly comprised

the present districts of Raipur, Bilaspur and Surguja of Madhya Pradesh and Sambalpur, Sundargarh and Balangir districts of Orissa. This territory came under the rule of the Sarabhapuriya kings during 6th-7th centuries A.D. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang, who visited Kosala in 639 A.D. described its territorial boundary as 6000 li (1200 miles) in circuit and its capital as 1800 li (360 miles) away from the capital of Kalinga(65). The capital city was Sripura modern Sirpur on the Mahanadi in Raipur district.

In the 8th-9th centuries the Somavamsis became powerful in Kosala. But about the middle of the 9th century the Kalachuris of Dahala rose to prominence as a rival power of the Somavamsis and the latter being defeated were forced to shift towards the eastern region of Kosala(66). The Somavamsis occupied the Khinjali territory of the Bhanjas and established a new capital at Yayatinagara (modern Jagati near Baud) on the Mahanadi. About the middle of the 11th century A.D. both Kosala and Utkala were unified by the Somavamsis under their rule(67), but towards the close of that century the Teluguchodas took possession of the Kosala region and made Suvarnapura (modern Sonapur) their capital. Subsequently the Kalachuris drove away the Teluguchodas in 1114 A.D. and unified and consolidated the whole of Kosala(68). Soon after that a hundred years war broke out between the Gangas and the Kalachuris resulting in the defeat of the latter and the occupation of Kosala region by the former in 1220 A.D.(69).

About the middle of the 14th century the Chauhans rose to political power in Patna modern Balangir district, and in the 16th century Sambalpur became the centre of their

political power. The Chauhan rulers of Sambalpur claimed suzerainty over eighteen states comprising the areas of ancient Kosala and attempted to revive the former glory of that land. With the death of Narayan Singh the last Chauhan ruler in 1849, Sambalpur lapsed to the British empire and Kosala as a political entity came to an end.

#### ODRA - ODISA

The Mahabharata(70) and the Manu Samhita(71) speak of the Odra people but do not give any indication regarding their territorial location. The natural History of Pliny (1st century A.D.) refers to a people called Oretes inhabiting the territory where stood the Mount Maleus(72). The Oretes people are the same as the Odras and Mount Maleus is identified with the Malaya, or Malyavan hills near modern Pallahara in Dhenkanal district. Pliny further associates the Maleus with the people called Monedes and Suaris who are taken to be the Mundas and the Savaras respectively who inhabit in considerable number in Pallahara since remote time. As Pliny writes on the authority of the accounts of Megasthenes (4th century B.C.), the Greek Oretes appears to be the earliest literary reference to the Odra people.

The Greek term 'Oretes' and the Sanskrit 'Odras' both suggest 'or' or 'Orua' meaning rice. The Greek word for rice is also 'Oruza' which is similar to the Indian word 'Orua'. So 'Oretes' or 'Odras' mean the rice growing people.

It has already been stated that in the 7th century A.D. when Harshavardhana occupied Dandabhukti and Utkala he united both the lands and designated the united territory as Odravishaya, which extended beyond the Mahanadi up to the northern border

of Kongoda. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan-Chwang calls this territory as Wu Cha ( Odra ) and states that it was 7000 li or 1400 miles in circuit. The Chinese pilgrim writes about this country as follows : "The soil was rich and fertile yielding fruits larger than those of other lands, and its rare plants and noted flowers could not be enumerated ; the climate was hot ; the people were of violent ways, tall and of dark complexion..."(73).

General Cunningham presents the following boundaries of the Wu Cha ( Odra ) country : "The ancient province of Odradesa or Ordesa was limited to the valley of the Mahanadi and to the lower course of the Suvar-narekha river. It comprised the whole of the present districts of Cuttack and Sambalpur and a portion of Midnapur. It was bounded on the west by Gandwana, on the north by the wild hill states of Jashpur and Singhbhum, on the east by the sea, and on the south by Ganjam. These also must have been the limits in the time of Yuan-Chwang, as the measured circuit agrees with his estimate"(74). The delimitation of Cunningham requires some modification as the Sambalpur region was then a part of South Kosala.

In the 8th century the Bhauma-Karas rose to supremacy over eastern Orissa from Midnapore to Ganjam and their territory was called Toshali or Utkala. In their records they nowhere called it Odravishaya or Odradesa. The Arab Geographer Ibn Khurdadhbih(75) who wrote his Geography about the middle of the 9th century referred to Kudafarid, Kaylkan, Al Iava, Kanj, Samundar and Ursfin, which are identified respectively with the river Godavari, Kalinga, Toshali, Kongoda, Sumha and Odradesa. This indicates that Odradesa was by that time

distinct from the Bhauma kingdom of Toshali. In the 11th century the Persian Geography *Hudud al Alam*(76) refers to some territories like N Myas, Harkand, Urshin, Smnder, and Andhras which were probably contiguous. N Myas is identified with the territory of Mahisha with Mahishmati on the Narmada as the capital, Harkand is the same as Akara khanda ( Eastern Malwa ) and Urshin is Odradesa while Smnder and Andhras are Sumha and Andhradesa respectively. The Arab scholar Al beruni who wrote his 'India' almost by that time ( 1025 A. D. ) states that Urdabisau ( Odra vishaya ) was located 50 foarsakhs ( about 200 miles ) to the south towards the sea from the Tree of Prayaga(77). These references are illuminating and they indicate that Odravishaya ( desa ) was situated between Sumha country and Andhradesa. The Tirumalai inscription—1023 A.D. (78) reveals that the army of Rajendra Chola passing through Andhradesa conquered Sakharakota ( Chakrakota, modern Bastar district ), Oddavishaya, Kosalainadu and went towards Sumha. That was also the route through which the wind messenger of Dhoi passed to Vaijayantipura, the capital of Sumha.

It may, therefore, be said that Odradesa during the period from 800 A.D. to 1100 A.D. was bounded by the river Mahanadi in the north, Toshali ( Dakshina Toshli ) in the east, Kosala in the west and the modern Khemundi region in the South. This is corroborated by the following epigraphic records :

- 1) Narasinghpur charter of Udyota Mahabhavagupta(79),
- 2) Brahmeswara temple inscription of Kolavatidevi(80),
- 3) Talcher copper plates of Gayaditunga(81) and
- 4) Upalada copper plate of Ranka Ramadeva(82).

We find mention of the name 'Odyadesa' in a votive inscription at Simachalam dated 1352 A.D. In the second half of the 14th century the Muslim Chronicler Shams-i-Siraj Afif (83) refers to the territory Jainagar-Udisa and early in the 15th century the name 'Odisha rashtra' and 'Odisha raija' came to be in popular use(84). From 1435 A.D. the date of accession of Kapileswaradeve, the name of the kingdom was officially declared as 'Odisha rajya'(85).

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**Dr. K. C. Tripathy, Reader, Department of Anthropology, Utkal University, in this paper has thrown light on the proto culture of Orissa in the successive phases of development, in palaeolithic, mesolithic and neolithic periods of History and their archeological evidence. This is a little discussed subject and will be of interest to the students of Cultural History of Orissa.—Ed,**

## THE PEOPLE OF ORISSA

Dr. K. C. TRIPATHY

The State of Orissa is now comprised of 60250 square miles divided into thirteen districts and several administrative units with a total population of 2,19,44,615 according to 1971 census report. As a separate Province is was created in 1936, under the Government of India Act, 1936.

Being a picturesque State in eastern India and the pilgrim towns of Puri and Bhubaneswar and other places of natural beauty have been attracting tourists, crowd of devotees and many other casual visitors. The more sophisticated visitors are deeply impressed by the refined and aesthetic grace of the architecture of the temples. The black pagoda at Konarak has been a symbol of Orissan architectural apogee and it has been providing multi-faceted but fundamental base to view the problems important for research, for the scientific historian or social scientist or sociologist, who look at the superb creation of art, is naturally tempted to discover what were the institutional sources from which those gifted artistes derived their inspiration and rightly formulated their appropriate conceptual frameworks. Orissa is rich with symbols of the then societies, it has provided also evidences of human interactions and cultural developments

from its formative cultural periods in the prehistoric past. The chronological ordering of cultural events indicate that Orissa has a continuous growth of cultural formations of different emerging societies from the pre-historic past to the recent past.

### FORMATIVE CULTURE PERIODS OF ORISSA

Cultural periods of Orissa can be traced from pre-historic periods when Early man knew only the use of stone tools. Though no human fossilised evidences have been recovered from the State, the vestiges of the lithic cultural evidences in the form of crude stone implements of hand axe, cleaver, pebble tools, microliths and neoliths have been obtained. Since the discovery of pre-historic evidences in Orissa by V. Ball in 1875, the State has been systematically studied by P. Acharya, Professor R. D. Banerjee, N. K. Bose, D. Sen, E. C. Worman, Dr. G. C. Mohapatra and their studies have revealed innumerable evidences of lithic cultural phases which have contributed to the formative cultural periods in this eco-unit. The studies primarily revealed that the northern regions of the State such as the districts of Dhenkanal, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundergarh were the most suitable geographic units which



provided the eco-environmental suitability for the formation of the early cultural phases in the state. The rest of the administrative units of the State were not recorded with any significant pre-historic cultural antiquities. The unrecorded areas have been studied subsequently by Dr. K. C. Tripathy, S. K. Misra, S. C. Nanda, R. N. Dash and S. B. Ota and they have substantially contributed to the knowledge of the Early human cultural evidences. On the whole the total State has yielded the valuable treasure of Early human cultural evidences which form the basic stratum of cultural periods in Orissa.

It has been known that man's antiquous history happened during the geological phase of pleistocene. Man was in use of stone, bone and antler and subsequently gathered the knowledge for the use of metals. The significant cultural phases of the Early man can be grouped as palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic. Plenty of palaeolithic evidences of lower, middle and upper have been reported from the northern districts of the State. This may indicate that the area was flourishing with palaeolithic human activities and they bear close affinity with the neighbouring States, particularly with the evidences from Singhbhum areas in Bihar. The palaeolithic cultural complex was a composite evolutionary elements of hand axe, cleaver, scraper and point with the micro emphasis on blade and burins. The evolution of blade and burins is considered as the emergence of the upper palaeolithic cultural facet. But the phase of upper palaeolithic is poorly represented and the phase is yet to be established in the State. The evidences of this culture is more prominently obtained from the south and south-western districts than the northern districts. The economic status during these periods may be interpreted as collective. The evidences

of pebble tools from south-western regions, in addition to lesser emergence of hand axe-cleaver complex is a significant variation but the evolution may be due to some local phenomenon. However, it requires further analysis to establish this culture.

Mesolithic evidences have been innumerably reported from the south and south-western Orissa which have established the activities of Early man in the region and the orientation of his adaptive strategies due to changing environment. The evidences indirectly speak the gradual and consistent growth of cultural phases in Orissa. During this phase of human activities man only lived by hunting and collection of vegetables which suggest the mode of their eco-exploitation and man-land relationship. Several sites of mesolithic culture have been reported and their collection from the surface and under-surface contexts have provided a valuable link of human cultural continuity. From the economic point of view the phase was a parasitic because the man was totally dependant on his surrounding eco-structure.

However the phase of mesolithic culture is very prominently established in Orissa. From the palaeo evidences, it is indicated that mesolithic folk during this formative cultural period was less attached to the eco-structures of the north Orissa and rather due to environmental suitability the south and the south-western regions of the State provided an appropriate abode for their existence. Towards the end of the mesolithic the environmental change in their economic orientation, a new cultural life as Neolithic was established. This phase was possible at the terminal phase of the mesolithic.

The foundation on neolithic cultural phases in the State is evinced

through the discovery of polished stone tools and perforated stones, etc. The occurrence of stone celts make their concentrational distribution in the north and the eastern regions of the State. The growth of this culture is better observed in these geographic units and they are better understood if they are viewed from their evolutionary changes in their techno-complex. The morphological study of the implements indicate that the cultural change was oriented towards a specific phase of human experience. The implemental manipulations emphasise that they may have been for some types of productive economic structure which may have aided the population to establish their settled habitations and new social organizational experiences. From the abundant neolithic evidences it may be interpreted that north-western Orissa was responsible for providing a foundation of this culture and the terminal stage of the culture gradually made its expansion towards the south and south-western regions of the State. Recent studies on neolithic culture has been taken up by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Orissa. The discovery of bar-celts and other neolithic evidences from Sankerjana, Angul, indicate that the culture flourished along with the Metal Age. The implemental designs indicate the use of sharp metal tools.

#### PRIMITIVE WRITING

The discovery of semi-circular copper axe head, and other iron implements from Baripada, Sisupalgarh, etc., provide evidences of the beginnings of the age of the Metals. There are some evidences on the artistic creativity of Early man in Orissa. The evidences have been obtained from Vikramkhola (Sambalpur) Ushakothi, Gudahandi (Kalahandi), etc. They have been inter-

preted as primitive art of primitive writing by authorities. But these writings appear in mysterious surroundings which have been deliberately chosen for their concealment. Although at present we know little about the society that was responsible for this creation, there appears to be present enough circumstantial evidences for establishing links between the man-primitive-past and man-primitive-present in this region when the pictographic writings are viewed from all perspectives. However the discovery of lithic and metal cultural evidences from the tribal belts in Orissa may indirectly indicate that the distinct coincidence may be a phenomenon to explain the prehistoric-primitive continuum.

#### TRIBAL POPULATION

Among all the States in India the percentage of tribal population compared to its total strength is highest in Orissa. In addition to highest tribal concentration, the scheduled caste and other backward classes comprise 17.0% and 28.4% of the total population respectively. Thus the percentage of the total backward classes comes up to more than 70% approximately of the total population of the State. Not only does Orissa possess the highest percentage of tribal population compared with other states of India, but it also ranks next only to Assam in the varieties of tribal of different economic gradations, ethnic stock and linguistic families. There are tribes living a most primitive way of life in inaccessible parts of the State being thus naturally protected from alien contact. Here again live such tribes who except their names have lost their tribal identity and entered the fold of Hindu caste system.

There are as many as sixty-two varieties of tribes in the State out of

which fourteen major tribes may be sorted out who have distinct cultures of their own and belong to separate racial and linguistic groups. They are Kandha, Gond, Savara, Santal, Paraja, Kolha, Oraon, Kissan, Munda, Gadaba, Koya, Bhuyan, Juang and Bonda. Besides there are tribes like Korwas, Birhor and the hill Kharias who are in the primitive stage of hunting and food gathering economic status and migratory character. Many of them are gradually coming down to plain and have become settled agriculturists and they are greatly acculturated into the Oriya Hindu society.

Very little study has been made to know their physical morphology. On the basis of observations made so far the tribes of Orissa show a racial homogeneity and have been classified as protoaustraloid. Besides, Mongoloid features have been observed among the Juang and the Negrite elements have been noticed among the Gadabas of Koraput. Studies in anthropometry, blood group, dermatoglyphics and genetic traits of some tribes have been undertaken by some research workers and their data have provided a substantial scope to assess the appropriate racial affinity among the tribes in Orissa.

Linguistically these tribes differ from each other and specific distinctions may be marked mainly due to a particular tribe having several sub-divisions. The dissimilar dialects have been grouped into two main families—the Dravidian and Austric.

The tribal Orissa thus presents an interesting spectrum of population, linguistic, physical and cultural variations. It has many a time played an important part in the State history and has made valuable contributions to its glory. From this vast store of cultural

heritage we have much to borrow and history tells us that it is mutual borrowing that helps a culture grow, prosper and survive.

#### TRIBES---CASTE HIATUS

The dominant Oriya speakers have been powerfully influencing the tribal cultures in all contact areas. This is mainly due to mutual dependency with our age-old neighbours who are inseparably connected with all fields of our achievements. The slow absorption of Hindu traits by lower castes and tribes are rapidly taking place in different localities in Orissa. This may be termed as hiatus but the process is known as sanskritisation as termed by anthropologists. So some tribes have lost their tribal identity and entered the folds of Hindu caste system. For instance the Gond and the Bhuyan Zamindars of the district of Sundergarh, Sambalpur and Bolangir and particularly under the Raja of Sundergarh, the Bhuyans were the militia of the State and they have given up most of their cultural traditions and have become indistinguishable from the local Oriya castes. There are several instances how the tribals have been making their gradual entry into the Hindu social system. This process of amalgamation began very early in history when the Daitas, descendants of Saora (Savara) tribe, who made their association established with the functions and rituals of the Lord Jagannath in the Puri temple Sub-division among particular tribes exist because they differ in their related degree of acculturation. In spite of their differences in history, race, language and geography there exist some common fundamental principles on which the socio-religious life of these people has been framed.

The tribes in Orissa due to their significant cultural solidarity and distinct



identity, opposite type of cultural interactions, that is the flow of culture from the tribes to the Hindu groups, are likely to be numerous. It is not only the Lord Jagannath has some tribal antipathetic relationship, there are many village godlings worshipped by Hindu caste villagers are likely to be tribal in origin.

### CASTE IN ORISSA

There has been many useful investigators into the Orissan castes. Castes may be studied from two major aspects such as characteristic and process. The notion of solidarity in the caste group to exhibit the feeling of 'oneness' and 'we' among them and the mobility as a continuous process for achieving better and higher recognition, status and interaction with other caste groups. Though the general pattern of caste in Orissa is the same as elsewhere in Eastern India, there are local variations, the closest resemblance being to Bengal.

The castes in Orissa are divided into Brahmin, Karan, Khandayat and Kshatriya castes. The scheduled castes such as Bauri, Dom, Hadi, Sundhi, Teli and others are closely similar to those of Bengal. The Brahmins of Orissa show considerable regional variations in their organizations. Through their organizations they are known as Jhadua, Holua, Sarua, Deulia, Padhiya, Danua and Santo. The Brahmins of sasans are known as sasan Brahmins and they are probably later immigrants and they were given magnificent gifts of lands by the 'Rajas' who brought them. Sasan Brahmin villages are typically planned with two rows of houses with a straight street passage. At the end of the village a water tank and a 'Shiva' temple are usually found. The service castes such as washerman, Barber, Bauri, Dandasi, etc. live slightly away from the village.

The Karans of Orissa closely correspond to the Kayasthas of Bengal. According to Thurston the Karans were first brought by the King Yayati Keshari in about 5th century A. D. from North India. They were brought to Orissa to help the royal administration being employed as writers and clerks. Subsequently the caste was enlarged due to absorption of people from the Kshatriyas. Because of such absorption the Karans of Orissa are popularly known as Asi and Masi Karan (as warriors from sword to pen) and in caste hierarchy they stand next to Brahmins).

The people of Khandayat caste are mostly recruited from the farming communities and they constituted the militia and they also claim Kshatriya status.

Caste solidarity and caste-bound norms of behaviours are very strong in Orissa because the service castes and their patrons are still bound by several ties of mutuality. The castes like Oilman, Fisherman, Barber, Wearers, etc., have their own caste councils in order to settle their caste problems. From their regional organizations in the recent years there are formation of 'Mahasavas' at the State level, too. The castes are identified by their surnames.

### SOMATOLOGIC STUDIES

Sir Rerbert Bisley classified the population of Bengal and Orissa into one group Monglo-Dravidian. Bisley took Somatoscopic and anthropometric measurements of small samples of caste groups such as Karan, Teli, Chasa, Sasan Brahmin, Mastan Brahmin, Panda Brahmin, Khandait, Pan and others of the Cuttack and Puri districts. According to him the people of Orissa are generally medium statured (163.8 mm) with mesocephali (76.2 C. I.)

moderately broad heads) and mesorhinytype nose (76. 6 N. I., neither too broad or narrow).

After Risley, the Physical Anthropological work on the caste populations in Orissa have been done by S. S. Sarkar, U. Deka, A. K. Ray, K. C. Tripathy, B. Rath and others. The Physical Anthropological studies like anthropometry, Dermatoglyphics, Serology and genetic traits have been undertaking to assess the affinity and distance between the caste populations. The studies undertaken till now are not properly co-ordinated and so no systematic information can be presented but a brief analysis of the findings have been incorporated in this paper.

Name of Castes	Cephalic Index	Nasal Index	Stature (Average)
Sasan Brahmmin	77.1	76.8	163.5 c.m.
Panda Brahmin	77.8	77.4	164.2 "
Mastan Brahmin	77.6	79.3	164.2 "
Karan	76.2	81.3	163.8
Khandait	77.3	78.7	164.5
Chasa	77.1	79.3	161.5
Teli	75.6	77.4	161.9
Kent	77.3	82.3	161.1
Guria	78.4	79.3	160.6
Bauri	77.3	85.1	158.5 "
Pan	77.6	82.1	160.1
Kandara	78.4	79.6	162.5 "

After Sir Herbert Risley.

#### SEROLOGY

The Study of ABO system of blood groups and their gene frequencies such as p. q. r. may be as follows respectively.

Brahmins	0.21	0.18	0.56
Karans	0.08	0.17	0.66
Khandait	0.24	0.37	0.42
Other castes	0.24	0.33	0.45

From the above distribution of frequencies a probable affinity or the distance have been studied. The table above show that out of the four caste groups cited above Khandaits and the other castes bear close affinity whereas the Karans are significantly distinct in their frequency distribution. The Brahmins are unique in their blood group pattern distribution.

#### OTHER TRAITS

There has been studies in PTC taste sensibility of the castes in Orissa. The tasters and non-tasters among the castes are as follows :

	Tester	non-tester	t gene%
Brahmin	66.1	32.9	50.82
Karan	63.4	36.4	60.05
Khandait	81.6	18.4	40.30
Other castes	71.4	28.6	50.35

The above analysis shows that Brahmins of Orissa almost show the same frequency of non-taster and t gene in percentage as the Rarhi Brahmins of West Bengal and the Vednagar Nagar Brahmins of Bombay. The Karans of Orissa almost agree with the Chandrasenya Kayastha of Western India and also of Uttar Pradesh. The Khandaits of Orissa exhibit a low frequency of taste-blindness.

The findings of the Somatologic, Sarologic and genetic studies may show the differences between castes. In this short paper the author has restricted his observation only to some aspect of the findings and has avoided to make any common generalizations.

Orissa has a rich repertoire of dance forms - beginning from the sophisticated, ornate Odissi, vigorous Chow to the graceful swinging of the tribal dances to the accompaniment of lilting music and flute. Odissi from near-anonymity has to-day literally taken the world, by storm, by its lyrical charm. A number of talented danseuses and Gurus have made Odissi famous all over the world. Chow is another dance, for which Orissa is equally famous. Once Seraikella-Chow, was made famous in Europe by Raj Kumar Subhendra of Seraikella, in the pre-Second World War years. After the merger of Seraikella the erstwhile princely State with Bihar, Mayurbhanja has kept this dance form alive. Dr. Priyambada Mohanty in this article gives a glimpse of Dances of Orissa.--*Ed.*

## DANCES OF ORISSA

DR. PRIYAMBADA MOHANTY

Orissa has a rich and varied tradition in dance. They can be broadly classified into four major categories : Odissi, Chow, Folk and Tribal dances. If one watches these dances today one can get a feeling of the evolution of a spontaneous art form of the tribal dance to a rigidly stylized Odissi with folk and Chow occupying a place in between.

Odissi evolved as a ritual in the Jagannath temple and has emerged as a leading classical dance form of India. Chow evolved from the martial arts under the patronage of the rulers of the erstwhile princely states of Seraikella and Mayurbhanj. Folk dances are deeply associated with different religious rituals and the tribal dances are part of the rhythm of life of the different tribes indigenous to Orissa.

### ODISSI

Bharata in his NATYA SHASTRA, the treatise on dance, drama and music (2nd or 1st century B.C.) has mentioned that there existed a system of dance in

Orissa and Bihar called "Odra-Magadhi" and interestingly enough the sculptural evidence for this dance form is just as ancient. In the Rani Gumpah rock-cut caves in Udaygiri (2nd century B.C.), one finds the earliest carvings of dancers and musicians. A study of the temple sculpture from 7th century onwards gives evidence of the fact that the art of dance was one of the most intense pre-occupations of the people of Orissa. As a matter of fact a study of the temple architecture reveals that dance supplied what is known as the "inner rhythms of harmony" in Orissan temples. There are dance sculptures of Nataraja, Parvati, Ganesha and other deities. In addition, one finds many poses and postures peculiar to Odissi dance, in these temples. The dance sculptures at Konarak temple (1250 A.D.), are acknowledged to be the most exquisite of all. Apart from the whole edifices becoming carvings and sculptures, Konarak has the only "one piece life-size statues" of musicians playing the veena, flute and cymbals, etc., on the first parapet of the prayer hall.

## *Ritualistic Beginning*

What we see as Odissi dance today, mainly evolved as a ritual in the temple. It is generally agreed that the history of Odissi dance is largely the history of the temple dancing girls or DEVADASIS or MAHARIS in Oriya. The earliest dedication of DEVADASIS in Orissa is in the form of an inscription belonging to the line of Udyotta Kesari (9th century A.D.). It was during the Kesari period that there was a decline of Buddhism and the ascendancy of Hinduism in Orissa the Kesaris paved the way for the cult of Lord Jagannath. After the Kesaris the Ganga Dynasty had considerable impact on Orissan culture. Chodagangadeva ascended the throne in 1077 A.D. and began the construction of the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri. Anangabhimadeva completed the temple and constructed the Natamandira or the hall of dance, as an annexure to the main temple. It was probably during this period that MAHARIS (temple musicians and dancers) were employed for service in the temple. The ritual continued rather in a unsophisticated form, until the early part of this century. The record of early 1950's list the name of *nine* Devadasis (Maharis) and their turn of duties. According to these Maharis there used to be two rituals, during the SAKALA DHUPA (morning secret worship) in the Natamandira with the door to the *sanctum sanctorum* closed. The second was the nocturnal ritual restricted to singing only, in the *sanctum sanctorum*.

During the 17th century under a class of boys called GOTIPUAS or AKHADAPILAS, were trained to dance dressed as girls. They mainly performed for entertainment and were later allowed to perform in some festivals (rituals). Gotipuas used to be singer-dancers and used to punctuate the lyrics with pure dance pieces. What we see as Odissi

today has mainly been reconstructed from what was left with the Gotipua gurus and Maharis, in the 1950's after my historic performance in 1954 at the First Inter-University Youth Festival in New Delhi which generated an unprecedented interest in the revival of this dance form.

## *Distinctive Features*

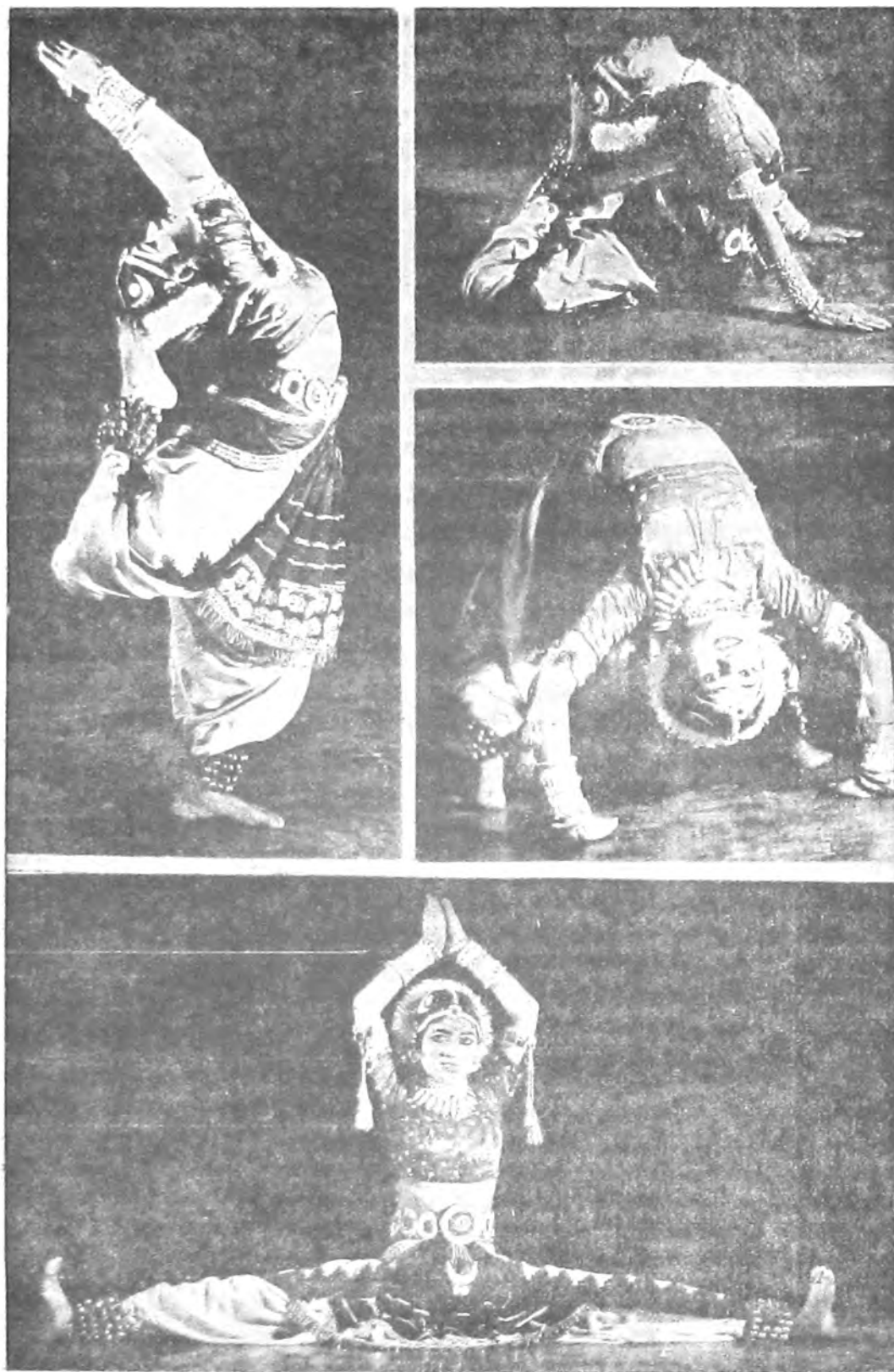
Odissi style is noted for its sculpturesque poses and lyrical movements. Not being rigidly stylized, its emphasis is on more subtle feminine movements. The following are some of the distinctive features :

1. The *Chauka* position in which the dancer creates four right angles, two with the hands (one at the shoulder and the other at the elbow), and two with the legs (at the ankle and knee level). One of the most difficult bhramari, is performed maintaining this position.
2. The predominant posture is the three-bend "Tribhanga" position, the three bends being created by the head, torso and the feet. In the resting "tribhanga", the weight is on one leg with the hip deflected to one side. As a matter of fact the subtle hip deflections during the sequential movements is a characteristic of Odissi. In addition, the graceful movement of the torso, above the waist (*bakhya chalana*) is unique to Odissi.

## *The Repertoire*

Odissi performance starts with the *Mangolacharana* an invocatory piece rendered as a ritual offering in praise of Lord Ganesha or other deities. The dance ends with a tripartite obeissance to mother Earth, the audience and the





Hemalata, an eminent Odissi Dancer in Bandha Nritya.

musicians. The next item is *Baru* or *Sihal* Nrutya, the most stylized and sculpture-sque piece in Odissi. To the accompaniment of rhythmic syllables the dancer moves from one sculptural pose to another. The common poses used in this dance are the playing of the veena, flute, cymbals, drums and the darpana pose. The third item is *Pallavi*, an item of pure dance set in a specific raga and tala. This is a graceful and lyrical item in which to the elaboration of swara and tala, the dancer goes through a series of fluid and lyrical movements. It usually starts with a slow tempo building into a climax. The next item is *Abhinaya* or dramatic mime performed to a song. The dancer expresses the meaning of the song with appropriate gestures. The compositions of Jayadeva (Gita Govinda in Sanskrit) and other Oriya poets like Banamali, Gopala-krushna and Kabisurya are usually favoured. The final item is *Mokshya*, an item of pure dance performed in a fast tempo in which the dancer skilfully shifts from one pace to another indicative of superb control of the body in tune to the changing patterns of the intricate rhythms—a rather spectacular piece.

The dress consists of colourful silk sarees either plain or with intricate woven designs characteristic of Orissan handloom (bandha). The jewellery is also typical Orissan silver and gold filigreed.

## CHÓW

### *Brief history* . .

There are two views regarding the nomenclature. Some believe that the name is derived from the word "Chhaya" (shade or phantom) symbolic of the mask which has been secondarily eliminated in the Mayurbhanj style but has been retained in the other two schools of Chow-Seraikella (now in Bihar) and Purulia (Bengal). Others

believe that the name has come from "Chhauni" meaning a military camp where the dance evolved from the martial art. In any case, there is no objection to the fact that Chow really evolved from a march-cum-exercise dance of the soldiers. Apparently, the reserve militia put together the exercises, maneuvers and acrobatics in a "dance form" to the accompaniment of the huge roaring kettle drum (Dhumsa) and the bugle (Mahuri). Militia exercises to the rhythms of music has been a common development in many parts of the world.

It is difficult to date Chow, however by the nineteenth century it enjoyed considerable patronage from Maharaja Sri Krishna Chandra Bhanj (1868-1882) and then evolved further under the personal supervision of his son Sri Rama Chandra Bhanj (1882-1912) of Mayurbhanja. In order to improve the art through healthy competition, the royal family introduced an annual competition between the dancers of the Uttarsahi (north settlement) and Dakshina sahi (south settlement)—a tradition that continues till today. Previously known as "The dance of the Oriya Paikas (warriors)", it was perhaps performed for the first time outside Orissa in 1912 at Calcutta, in honour of the visit of King George V and Queen Mary and received appreciative notice.

### *Distinctive Features*

Essentially a masculine dance which is exclusively performed by men, the main rasa is BIRA but during its evolution perhaps for thematic presentations, lyrical elements have also been introduced. The modes have been classified into the masculine HATIARDHARA (Hatiyar—weapon, dhara—holding); and the feminine KALI-BHANGA (Kali—the softest end of a

sprig, bhangā-bending). In general, the emphasis is on the movement of the limbs. All the dances are pure dance pieces and the scope for anga-bhinaya and mukhabhinaya is rather limited. The main posture is *Chauka*, the distinctive position of Odissi dance. The other dominant posture is the DHARANA representing the basic stance of *Rook* (defense) and *Mar* (offense). In this martial posture, the dancer holds the defensive shield with the left hand forward, at the waist level; and holds the sword with the right hand at a level higher than the head. The weight of the body is mainly on the left leg with the result that the body is slightly bent to the left. A Chow dancer has to be an expert in sword play called *Porikhandu* (Pari-shield, Khanda-sword) in order to master the *Dhurana*. Many of the movements are either in this stance or punctuated by this stance. In general, the emphasis is on the movement of the legs called the *Tobkas*. There are six *Tobkas*: sada (simple), lahara (ripple), moda (convolutive), dheu (wave-like), duba (diving) and uska (leaping) movements. Each *Tobka* has six variations thus 36 *uflis* in all. Then there are many *sub-uflis* (*upavflis*). The different movements simulate household chores (*Guti-utha* or picking up stones; *Kharaka* or sweeping of floor; *basana moja* or cleaning of utensils etc.), toilet preparations (*gadhuā*-taking a bath; *sintha fadu*-parting the hair with a comb; *sindoor pindha* putting the vermilion tika on the forehead etc.), actions (*kantoniko*-removing thorns; *butachira* splitting of bamboo etc.), martial movements (*khanda hana*-hacking with a sword), (*antimoda*—to kill by trampling etc.), and animal movements (*herindian*-leaping of a deer; *bogato*-a stalking crane; *chhelidian*-jumping of a goat etc.). Mayurbhanj Chow utilizes the *Vrschika* karana mentioned in the NATYA Shastra more

than any other major form of dance in India.

### *The Repertoire*

The repertoire extends from simple themes, such as hunting, fishing as in the item *Shabara toka* or *Shikari to jam*; to themes on animals like the *Mavur nritya*, to themes on deities like the famous *Nataraja* which uses the characteristic *sinthafadu* tobka; to themes from mythology such as the *Tamudia krishna*, *Garuda bahana*, *Geeta* and *Kialash leela*, etc. The spectacular *War dance* which was choreographed for the historic performance in honour of the visit of King George V, under the personal supervision of Maharaja Sri Rama Chandra Bhanj, represents the vigorous fearless combats of the Oriya paikas. Chow performance traditionally starts with *Ranga baja* or the musical invocation performed behind the screen, and ends with *Nutki*—the final phase performed in a fast tempo. The vocal accompaniment is negligible and the accompanying music is provided by the *Mahuri*, the huge kettle-drum *Dhumra*, and accessory percussion instruments such as the *Dhol*, *Chadchadi* and *Tikra*. The mood of the theme of each dance is identified with a musical mode-raga called *Ranga* and a specific beat *tala*. With a change in the melody there is a change in ranga and the rhythm as well as tempo.

The dancers use many colourful costumes out of which red and green are most common. The dancers use accessories such as the shield, sword, chakra and the mallet befitting the character they portray.

Chow festival is held traditionally during the *Chaitra Purnima* celebrations in Baripada, Mayurbhanj. Still loosely connected with the *Bhokta* cult, the presiding deity of the dance is Lord Shiva (Bhairava). At the end of the

festival, at midnight, the ceremony centres around the *Nishi-ghata* a pitcher which apparently represents Shakti. In Seraikella also Chow festival synchronises with the Chaitra Parva.

### FOLK DANCES

Folk dances like folk music and art, have their roots in the religious and seasonal festivals prevalent in the area, and represent a vital part of the cultural heritage of Orissa.

### CHAITI GHODA

Literally meaning a dummy-horse, is performed mainly by the fishermen community to propitiate the deity Basuli with the head of a horse. It is performed on the full moon day of the month Chaitra. Three characters, Rauta, Rautani and the horse-rider participate in this dance. A dummy horse torso is prepared from cane and cloth without the legs. The horse-rider literally wears this frame of a horse around its waist, movements, of the rider using its own legs gives the impression of a real horse-rider. The Rauta is the main singer-cum-commentator who gives discourses from mythology and the major part of the dance is performed by the Rautani and the horse-rider.

### DALKHAI

The most popular folk dance of western Orissa in which the unmarried girls stand in a semicircle around the Dholia (drummer) and sing Dalkhai songs depicting love and humour. The songs are punctuated by a refrain "dalkhai re" from which the name is derived. The dance is performed in a half bent position with skillful movement of the waist and feet. Dressed in the typical local colourful criss-cross handloom saris with the hair neatly

tucked in a bun to one side, and often a towel hanging from their shoulders, the girls dance to the music from the Dhol, Mahuri, Nishan and Tamaki.

### DANDA NATA

Mainly a ritualistic dance to propitiate Lord Shiva and his consort Gauri, this dance is prevalent in Dhenkanal, Bolangir, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam districts. The ritual is celebrated through dance, song and physical feats. The name is derived from the "Danda" or the "pole" which symbolically represents Lord Shiva. It appears to have originated from the esoteric practices in the past. The devotees are called the "Bhoktas" who lead a life of abstinence for 21 days prior to the festival. The dance which is performed has a varied repertoire which includes Gauri beta bandana, Parava, Chadheiya-chadheiyani, Binakara and Sapua, etc. The Danda nata which is performed for entertainment is a stylized version of Chadheiya-chadheiyani in which the Chadheiya literally meaning the "bird-catcher" appears with a stick in one hand and a noose with the other. Both the dancers sing alternately, interspersed with pure dance pieces.

### GHUMRA

Named after the accompanying pitcher-shaped drum, the dance is peculiar to the district of Kalahandi, Bolangir and Sambalpur. It is performed exclusively by the boys who play their ghumra drums tied to their chest, as they dance and sing. It is a ritual dance in the month of Chaitra.

### JHOOMAR

A popular group dance of western Orissa in which both boys and girls participate. The name is derived from the accompanying "Jhoomar songs".



The dance is performed in a fast tempo with peculiar movements of the hips and wrists. It is performed during the Chaitra parva, Karama puja and Kali puja.

### KARAMA

A ritual dance performed in honour of goddess "Karma Sani" or "Karma Rani" literally meaning the "Queen of Fate," the dance is prevalent in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundergarh, Eolangir and Dhenkanal. The men and women dance around the Karam branches, brought to the dancing arena by a ceremonial procession. The women dressed in their special costume and shell-jewellery dance in concentric circles and the men also move along with characteristic steps.

### NAGA

The Naga dancers of Puri perform with a heavy load of weapons, to the accompaniment of battle drums. The dancer carries among other things, a sword, a kukri, a whistle made out of horn, an iron shield; and bows and arrows. With the body covered with a yellow paste, vermillion on his forehead, and artificial moustache and beard, the dancer has ferocious look. The dance is a vigorous one displaying the strength of a warrior.

### PAIKA

A martial dance, apparently represents the dance which used to be practised by the paikas (warriors) every day. The dance is still performed in the paika settlements all over Orissa on the day of Dusshera, with swords, daggers, clubs, sticks and tiger paws. The accompanying music is provided by the Chagy, Nagar, Dammal, Mahuri and large Cymbals (jhanja).

### PATUA

Better known as Patua jatra, it is closely allied and some times associated with Danda rituals, aimed at the propitiation of Lord Shiva for boons. It is held in the months of Baisakha and Chaitra which are specially sacred for Shiva worshippers. A type of physical torture for spiritual benefit is undergone by the devotees. Patuas are of various types mainly named after the physical torture they undergo. The *Nian* patuas walk on fire, the *Uda* patuas now banned by law, swing by a hook piercing the back. In addition there are *Kanta* patuas, *Khandu* patuas, *Phoda* patuas, *Jhula* patuas and *Ghata* patuas out of which the *Ghata* patua dances, sings and displays acrobatics, to the accompanying music from Dhol, Mahuri and Ramatali.

### RANAPA

Popular among the cowherd community of the coastal areas of Ganjam district, the dance is named after the stilts (Ranapas) on which the dancers move. It is mainly an exhibition of skills in balance on the stilts as the dancers go through different manoeuvres to the accompanying music of Dhol and Mahuri.

### TRIBAL DANCES

Tribal dances usually take their names after the tribes that perform them. The primary impulse of tribal dance is *rhythm*. The women usually dance, men participating in a few; but the accompanying music is invariably provided by the men. Nearly more than a quarter of Orissa's population belong to approximately 60 tribal groups, each with distinct customs and dialect. Dance and music amongst these people are part of their life; sometimes a part of the ritual for propitiating natural

Gods through festivals. Since the majority of the participants are unmarried girls and boys, dance amongst the tribes also provides a lyrical occasion for wooing a mate.

#### GADABA

The popular dance of the nomadic tribes of Koraput district, is performed during festivals like Dushera, Pausa Purnima, Chaitra parva and Gatar festival. Dressed in their keranga sarees and their unique hair style, the Gadaba women bend forward and move back and forth with light footed steppings using their heels, to the rhythm of music. The music is provided by the men playing the drum (Dhol), Tamak. Khiridi and Mahuri.

#### GOND DANCE

The Gonds of Koraput district dance throughout the year but also have special dances for special occasions. Both boys and girls participate in the dance. The male dancer wears a colourful coat, turban adorned with decorations ; the girls wear knee-high sarees, silver jewellery ; and dance in circles along with the boys.

#### KONDH DANCE

Only unmarried girls and boys participate in this dance. On special occasions, the girls dressed in their special attire, link arms and dance to the intricate drum beats. The movement of the group is rather serpentine—the



GADABA DANCE

line of dancers coiling, uncoiling and swiftly moving away and therefore referred to as the "Snake dancers of Orissa"

#### KOYA DANCE

The Koyas are the Dravidian speaking tribe of the Malkangiri sub-division of Koraput district. The Koyas dance during the Chaitra parva (March-April). The girls usually topless, with heavy jewellery made up of beads, wear a cap on their head and strike the rhythm on the ground with sticks fitted with bells. A series of winding and unwinding circles are formed during the dance. The male Koya drummers wear the spectacular head gear fitted with bison horns with strings of "Kowris" hanging in front. The large Koya drum (Dola) and the flute (Wasad), are the main accompanying musical instruments.

#### ORAONS

The dance of the Oraons of Sundergarh and Bolangir districts, is performed in front of the village dormitories. The

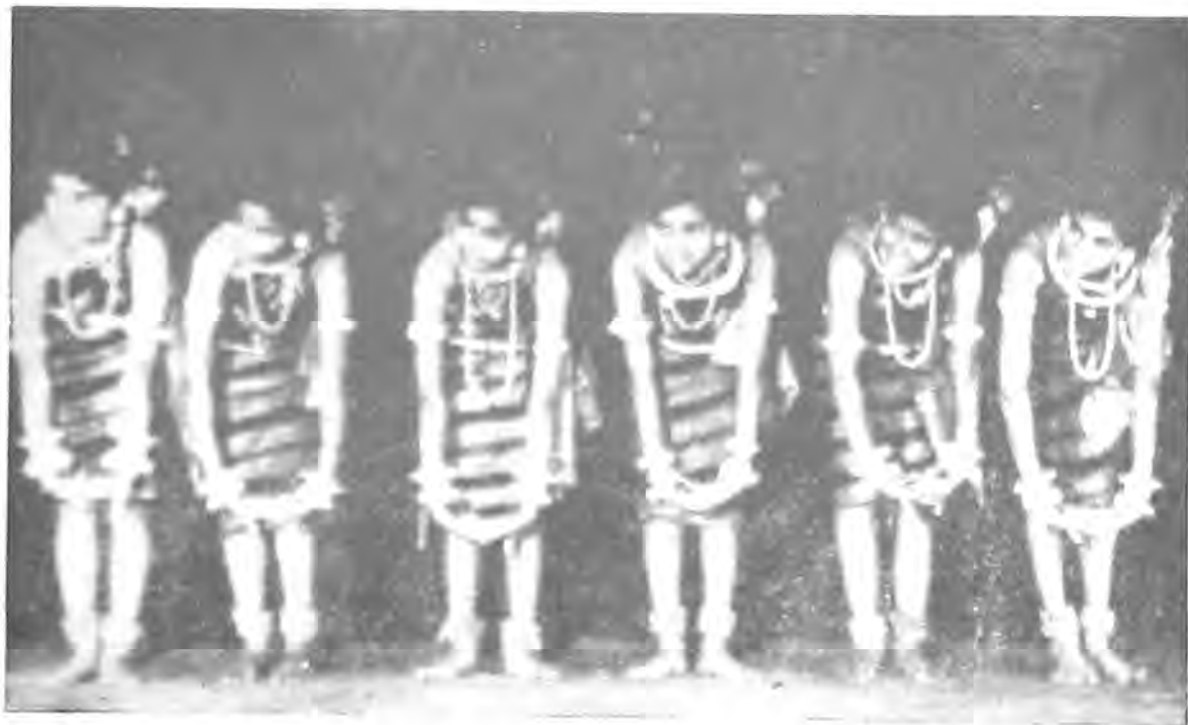
boys and girls participate in the dance. The line of dancers go round and round headed by the leading dancers.

#### PARAJA

The Parajas dance during the Chaitra parva, the dance often lasting from dusk to dawn. The girls wear colourful handwoven sarees; silver and brass jewellery; and hold a bunch of peacock feathers in their hands. The movements are extremely graceful and the music is provided by the drum, flute and the "Dudunga"—a country-made string instrument.

#### SAURA

Prevalent among the Sauras of Ganjam and Koraput districts, it can be considered as a dance for the families because men, women and even children participate in this dance. The dancers in their casual attire, hold sticks, axes and drums; and dance in the village streets. The dancers move forward and backwards to the accompanying songs and music.



Sambalpur Folk Dance



Orissa is famous all the World over for her architecture and sculpture, which had a distinctiveness of their own. Dr. K. S. Behera, an eminent scholar and art historian, discusses in this paper, the growth and evolution of Orissan Art and Architecture, from its dim beginning, to its grand climax—the Konarka.—*Ed.*

## ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF ORISSA

Dr. K. S. BEHERA

The finest contribution of Orissa to our country's cultural heritage is in the fields of art and architecture. All through the ages Orissa was justly famous for its refinement in art and culture. While following the broader Indian traditions the Oriya people tried to develop their own style and characteristics which show their creativity. Several factors contributed to the growth of uniqueness in art and architecture of Orissa. Art in Orissa, as elsewhere in India, was inspired by religion and the spread of Jainism, Buddhism, Saivism, Vaisnavism, etc., gave ample scope to the Orissan artists to make their hands willing tools in the cause of religion such as the caves, temples, stupas, viharas, etc., bear testimony to the artistic richness of the land. Since it is impossible here to analyse the multiple aspects, we shall confine ourselves to a brief survey to offer glimpses of the glory of Orissan Art.

### EARLIEST SCULPTURES

The rock-cut elephant at Dhauli is the earliest available sculpture of Orissa. Here only the forepart of an elephant is depicted, but the work as a whole is distinguished by a placid dynamism and naturalistic rendering of the bulky volume and form. The Dhauli elephant maintains harmony with natu-

ral surroundings which adds to its dignified beauty. Situated close to the Edicts of Asoka, this animal figure may be ascribed to the age of Asoka. However, in modelling and execution it exhibits an indigenous quality and is quite different from the celebrated lion figures of Sarnath.

Bhubaneswar has yielded two animal sculptures, wholly in the round, representing lion figures which belonged to the capitals of some ancient columns. The colossal lion figure discovered near Vibhisansvar temple, though badly damaged, exhibits the same indigenous quality as the lion sculpture (now in the Orissa State Museum), originally found by the side of Bhaskaresvar temple. The unusual lingam of the latter temple, (9ft. in height and 12ft. 5 inches in circumference) evidently represents the remnant of a monolithic pillar. Another interesting find from Bhubaneswar is a huge bell capital with a frieze of sculptures at the bottom. All these point to the existence of pillars surmounted by animal capitals. Some scholars suggest that the so-called bell and the lion figure discovered in the vicinity of Bhaskaresvar temple can be connected with an Asokan pillar, while others consider the pillar as an imitation or adaptation of the Asokan Prototypes.

At any rate, the animal figures may not be later than 2nd-1st century B.C.

The forts of Sisupalgarh and Jaugada give us a very good idea of the military architecture of Orissa in the ancient period. Both the forts are square on plan and are enclosed by rampart walls. The excavation of Sisupalgarh in 1948 has revealed the elaborate Western gateway complex built of laterite blocks. Charles Fabri observes, "Here are some of the finest bulwarks of any period in India history, with an astonishingly intelligent gate, defended, and allowing individuals to pass through a small passage carefully guarded, when the main gates were closed. Huge boulders of laterite form the gate, excellently finished and set together in well defined courses, the alignment is admirable, and shows developed architectural skill"

#### ROCK MONUMENTS

Rock monuments represent the most important mode of architectural expression in the early period. The caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri are not only among the earliest non-secular architecture of Orissa, but they occupy an important place in the history of Indian cave architecture and art. Most of these caves were excavated during the reign of Kharavela who flourished in the first century B.C. The rock-cut caves, meant for the habitation of Jaina monks, are not imposing in size or scale. Instead, they are quite simple, as if to reflect the Jaina doctrines. For example the height of the caves is so small that one cannot stand erect. Further, the doorway openings are quite narrow. The floor is characterised by a pillar-like inclination at the back. The caves, in their fully developed form, consist of one or more dwelling cells fronted by a pillard verandah. The

double-storyed Ranigumpha, with an open courtyard in the front is the most important cave of Udayagiri. It consists of several rock-cut cells arranged in the main wing and side wings, each preceded by a verandah supported on pillars. The notable cave of Khandagiri are Tatwa gumpha, Ananta gumpha, Navamuni gumpha, etc. Some of these caves have been converted into sanctuaries during the Somavamsi period. It is in the caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri that we may get an idea about the character of early Orissan art and architecture. The sculptures can be divided into two groups—one consisting of narrative reliefs and the other representing isolated decorations. Some of the reliefs, as on the Rani gumpha, are apparently more developed in composition and modelling than the reliefs of Bharhut. In any case much of the beauty of the caves is due to the sculptured friezes and simple carvings.

The remains of an apsidal structure, one of the earliest of its types in Eastern India, have been brought to light as a result of excavation on the crest of the Udayagiri hill. In plan it consists of a circular shrine, oblong nave, and two-sided aisles. This apsidal establishment, however, is not the only monument of the early period. The discovery of a few railing posts from the Bhaskaresvar temple area, suggest the existence of a stupa, at Bhubaneswar. The style and workmanship of the reliefs on the railings indicate that the stupa, now no longer extant, belonged approximately to the first century B.C.

Unfortunately not much is known about the art and architecture of Orissa during the early centuries of the Christian era covering the period from the fall of the Mahameghavahanas to the rise of the Sailodbhavas in the 6th-7th century. A few large-size yaksa and

Naga images are all that have survived to indicate the artistic trends of the intervening age. The Yaksa images, preserved in the Orissa State Museum, are characterised by their frontal pose and heaviness of form. Equally primitive and interesting are the free-standing images of Nagaraja discovered from the vicinity of Bhubaneswar.

### THE GUPTA-AGE

The Gupta period, in the context of India is a period of great artistic efflorescence. But as far as Orissa is concerned the art history of the region is still almost blank and it was in the post-Gupta period that we see the outburst of artistic activities. The Gupta influence, however, can be seen in both architecture and sculpture. As yet no definite Gupta temple has been discovered in Orissa, but the early temples of Orissa, belonging to the post-Gupta period, provide interesting links with Gupta architecture and art. In fact Orissa is one of the regions where the lingering Gupta idiom can be traced in sculpture to a much later date. There is no doubt that the indigenous art tradition of Orissa gained further momentum assimilating the influences of the classical Gupta age. Even painting is no exception to this. Sitabinji (District Keonjhar) is famous for its beautiful fresco-painting depicting royal procession with unique charm and liveliness. Below the scene the name of Maharaja Disabhanja is written in the characters of the 5th-6th Century A. D.

### BUDDHIST ARCHITECTURE

Architecture and sculpture made notable progress in the medieval period under the patronage of Sailodbhavas, Bhauma-Karas, Somavamsis and the Gangas. The development of different religions was at the bottom of such abundant output of art. The best

specimens of Buddhist art are found at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri, Lalitagiri, Solampur, Khadipada Ayodhya, Khiching, Kuruma, Baud, Banpur, and other places. Perhaps one of the finest establishments of the Buddhists was at Ratnagiri in Cuttack district. The excavations of the site have revealed the remains of the magnificent main stupa, two spacious Viharas, several small stupas and numerous Buddhist sculptures of great artistic excellence. The main stupa is now survived by its lofty base and a few courses of the circular drum. It has been constructed over the ruins of an earlier edifice of the Gupta period. The monastery No. 1, near the main stupa on the eastern side, was originally a double storied one. The entrance complex of this monastery with its lavishly decorated doorframe and figures of Bodhisattvas is quite unique. The spacious courtyard is surrounded by cells for the habitation of monks. The shrine chamber at the back contains a huge seated image of the Buddha in the *bhumi-sparsa mudra*. The site of Udayagiri, not far from Ratnagiri, has not yet been excavated. Amidst the ruins can be seen a small brick stupa with two images of Buddha attached to it. The existence of Viharas at Udayagiri is indicated by a beautiful doorframe (now in the Patna Museum) and an image of Buddha within a quadrangular mound. The Buddhist establishment at the neighbouring Lalitagiri has now reduced to extensive maunds. The figures of Bodhisattvas discovered from Lalitagiri are distinguished by unsurpassed grace and slender suppleness. R. P. Chanda observed, "No connoisseur will hesitate to include the Bodhisattvas found on the Naltigiri (Lalitagiri) among the most lovely things shaped by the hand of man". The partial excavation of Lalitagiri has revealed, apart from Buddhist images, remains of a few small

stupas, portable monolithic stupas, and brick walls of the ancient establishment. Achutarajpur (near Banpur) in Puri district has yielded the largest hoard of Buddhist bronze images of exquisite workmanship. Particularly noteworthy among the bronze images are representations of Buddha, Tara, Trailokavijaya, etc. Ayodhya was another important centre of art. The seated figure of Tara from Ayodhya is a remarkable specimen of Orissan art. A large-size image of crowned Buddha is found at Kuruma near Konarak. The available evidences thus indicate that Buddhist images and monuments are quite numerous in Orissa.

### THE JAINA SCULPTURES

The structural monuments associated with Jainism are very rare in Orissa. But a fair number of images have been discovered and important specimens have come from Khandagiri, Kakatpur, Jajpur, Charampa, Podasingidi, Ayodhya, Baripada and other places. Images of the Jaina pantheon are fairly prolific in Keonjhar and Koraput districts. The image of Risabhanatha from Kakatpur, stone image of Prasvanatha from Podasingidi, Sainkul and Ayodhya; images of Ajitanatha and Santinatha from Charampa; Santinatha from Jajpur, figure of Ambika from Kechla, Ambika with Neminatha from Achutarajpur, and Chakresvari from Jayapur may be mentioned here to illustrate the Jaina iconography and art. At Hatadiha, near Jajpur, is found an image of Tirthankara probably the largest Jaina sculpture of Orissa.

### THE VISHNUITE SCULPTURES

The Brahmanical images discovered from Orissa are fairly numerous and here a few may be mentioned by way of illustration. Visnu is represented in many forms and excellent specimens are specially known

from the Prachi valley. Images of Varaha, Narasinha and Trivikrama are usually found as *Parsvadevatas* of Visnu temples. The rock-cut image of Visnu (46 ft. 9 inches long) depicted in his primordial sleep, on the bank of the Brahmani near Sarang (Dist, Dhenkanal) is one of the largest images of India.

### THE SAIVA SCULPTURES

The varied forms and myths associated with Siva are depicted through fine sculptures. Bhubaneswar alone has supplied sculptures representing Lakulisa, Nataraja, Bhairava, Ravananugraha, Andhakasuravadha, Ardhanarisvara, Kalyanasundara aspects of Siva. Many excellent specimens of Ganesa are found from Bhubaneswar, Khiching, Champanath, and other places.

The images belonging to the Sakta pantheon are also varied. Apart from figures of Parvati, Laksmi, and Astikajaratkaru, we find excellent representations of Mahisasuramardini, Sapta Matrikas and Yoginis. The best specimens of Mahisasuramardini are furnished by Bhubaneswar, Khiching, Batesvara and Suklesvara. It is possible to trace a gradual evolution in these images with demon represented in buffalo form, in human figure emerging from the decapitated body of a buffalo. Among the Sapta Matrikas, those from Jajpur, Puri and Dharmasala (now in the Orissa State Museum) may be considered as the best of their types in India, of the two tantrik yogini pithas of Orissa located at Ranipur-Jharial and Hirapur, the chlorite yogini images from Hirapur, though quite small in size, are remarkable for their varied iconography and elegant treatment. Each figure is a masterpiece of Orissan art. Combined images of Laksmi-Narayana,



and Uma-Mahasvara, shown in graceful attitudes have also been discovered in Orissa.

## THE TEMPLES

We may turn to the temples which constitute by far the most dominant form of artistic expression in Orissa. Apart from Brahmanical temples, a few Buddhist and Jaina temples have also survived. All these temples show some common features and conform to the typical Kalinga style. An Orissan temple consists of the sanctum and the porch. Temples are found in other provinces, but the architectural scheme combining curvilinear *Vimana* and pyramidal *Jagamahana* is a unique aspect of the Orissan style. Another feature is the absence of carvings in the interior, while the surface of the temple is ornately decorated. The history of temple architecture in Orissa can be illustrated with a continuous series of temples from about the 6th to the 16th century. The developed form with distinctive features in plan and elevation, however, emerged in the 11th century. The style reached its climax in the 13th century.

The temples of Laksamanesvar, Bharatesvar, Satrugnesvar, Svarnajesvar and Parasuramesvar are among the earliest temples of Orissa. Of these, the Parasuramesvar temple, assigned to the 7th century, is the best preserved specimen of the early phase. Its *deula* is a simple structure with a dwarfish type of *rekha sikhara*. The Jagamahana is a rectangular pillared *mandapa* with a terraced roof sloping in two tiers with a clerestory in between. The temple, on the whole, is distinguished by its sculptured decoration. Lakulisa, Nataraja, Saptamartikas, Ganesa, Kartikeya, etc., are seen on the walls amidst other artistic carvings.

The next stage of evolution can be noticed in temples such as Vaital, Sisiresvara and Markandeyesvar in Bhubaneswar. The progress of the style can also be traced through a series of temples outside Bhubaneswar, the notable examples being Bhringesvar temple Bajrakot, Kanakesvar temple at Kaulo, Siva temple at Badgaon, Simhanath temple in an island of the Mahanadi river, the twin temples at Gandharadi, and the Varahi temple at Chaurasi. With oblong plan and barrel-vaulted roof Vaital and Varahi temples belong to the *Khakhara* order.

The temple architecture developed further in the 10th-11th centuries under the Somavamsis. The Muktesvar temple belonging to about the 10th century marks the transition between early and late temples. Its *deula* has a curvilinear *sikhara* and the Jagamahana is a *pidha* temple which shows the development from the stage of the rectangular mandaps. With very fine carvings on its walls and a beautiful *torana* at the entrance, the temple is truly "the gem of Orissan architecture." The Rajarani temple (11th century), adorned with a number of miniature temples on the *Vimana*, resembles the temples of Khajuraho. But in other details, however, the Rajarani closely follows the other Orissan temples. It is famous for its splendid figures of *dikpalas* and charming *alasa kanyas*. The Brahmesvar temple, built by queen Kolavati in the 11th century, represents a *puncha-ratha* sanctum fronted by a fully developed Jagamahana of pyramidal form. The Lingaraja temple, consisting of *Vimana*, *Jagamohana*, *Natamandira* and Bhogamandapa, is undoubtedly one of the finest temples of India. The majesty of its soaring tower is enhanced by a vertical arrangement of miniature temples on the *gundi*. This great temple, erected in the 11th century, shows the Orissan temple style at its best.



**Amorous Couple in Konark.**

In the next stage the Gangas continued the building activities. The great Jagannatha temple at Puri was built under the patronage of Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva in the 12th century. Like the Lingaraja, this temple is also built with four structures of which the *bada deula*, meant for the presiding Trinity, is the tallest extant temple of Orissa. This grand structure is impressive enough on its own, but it has become even more magnificent with its sculptured figures brought to light as a result of the removal of plaster.

### KONARK—THE GRAND CLIMAX

Other splendid examples of the Ganga period include Chatesvar temple at Kisenpur, Gopinath temple at Kakudia, Sobhanesvar temple at Niali, Madhava temple at village Madhava and Dakshaprajapati temple at Banpur besides a few shrines at Bhubaneswar. The magnificent Konark temple, however, marks the grand climax of the Orissan style. Built by Narasimha-I (1238-1264) in the hey days of Orissa's political power, it is the greatest and the best of Orissa's monuments. If art is an index of the creative ability of the people, this noble monument is not only the finest articulation of the creative genius of the Oriya people, but it is one of the artistic triumphs of man over time. The grand conception of the temple, as a chariot of the sun-god with twenty-four wheels, is in fact without parallel in the whole range of world art. The main temple, originally about 228 feet high, has long since collapsed, but the imposing Jagamohana with its fine carvings still stands as the reminder of its past glory. The life-size female figures on the roof

of the Jagamohana, the massive sculptures of Gaja-Simha, elephants, and war-horses are among the noteworthy sculptures from this temple. On the whole the Konark temple is a unique monument. In the 16th century Abul Fazl observed, "Even those whose judgement is critical and who are difficult to please stand astonished at its sight." In the present century Sir John Marshall, the renowned archaeologist, records his appreciation as follows :

"There is no monument of Hinduism, I think, that is at once so stupendous and so perfectly proportioned as the Black Pagoda, and none which leaves so deep an impression on the memory."

The great period of Orissan temple architecture and art ended with the crowning achievement at Konark. The Gajapatis (1435-1540), who succeeded the Gangas, were preoccupied with political problems and could not give time for temple building on a grandiose scale. Finally, art and architecture declined when Orissa lost her independence in 1568. The advent of Islam in the 16th century brought into existence a new style of architecture based on arches, vaults and domes. The mosque at Jajpur, Kadam Rasul and other mosques at Cuttack give an idea about the Islamic architecture in Orissa. The Muslim rule, however, was of very short duration and building activities continued on the traditional style. Thus in Orissa one can trace the continuous history of art and architecture from the days of Asoka (3rd century B.C.) down to the modern times. Even now in Orissa there are artisans who can produce replicas of temple sculptures with great success.



All the great religious movements which have shaped the spiritual culture of India, had their impact on Orissa. In fact, Orissa made her own special contributions to the corpus of Indian spiritual culture, like the Vajrayana of later Tantric Buddhism and the Gyanamisra Bhakti of the Utkaliya Vaishnavas. The syncretism of the Jagannatha-Cult is the noblest contribution of Orissa, to the religious culture of India. The author, an erudite scholar, discusses the religious culture of Orissa, against a broad historical background.—*Ed.*

## THE RELIGIOUS CULTURE OF ORISSA

RAICHARAN DAS

In its long meandering through history, different regions of Orissa came under different geographical units at various time ; namely Kalinga, Utkal, Odra, Kosala, Trikalina, Kangoda, Tosali, Kantara, Kurala, Svetaka, Kodakala, Mandala, etc. etc. These units and their peoples have shaped the political and cultural history of Orissa to its present form.

### THE PAURANIC BACKGROUND

We hear of Kalinga in Mahabharat war (1000-900 B.C.) The Kalinga king Srutayudha joined the great war on the side of Duryodhana whereas Odra was on the side of Yudhisthira. "After Kurukshetra war, we hear of Sattabhu and Karakandu" in eighth century B.C., of Asoka-Kalinga war fought by Kaalinga-II in seventh century B.C. and of Brahmadutta in fifth century B.C. until Mohapadma Nanda defeated Kalinga in fourth century B.C. The Puranas mention about thirty-two kings in Kalinga during the period from Mahabharat war to Mohapadma Nanda.

Several ancient texts mention about Orissa and its people. The Adi Parva, Santi Parva, Sava Parva, Bhishma Parva, and Karna Parva of Mahabharat, the

Matsya Purana, Vayu Purana, and Brahmanda Purana, Datha Vamsa, the Jatakas (Seri Vanija Jataka, Kumbhakar Jataka, Sara vanga Jataka), Chulla Kaalinga Jataka, Kaalinga-bodhi Jataka), Digghanikaya, Anguttara Nikaya and Majjhima Nikaya, Jaina Hari Vamsa Purana, Hari-bhadriya Vritti, Abhidhana Rajendra, Uttaradhyayana Sutra and Bhagavati Sutra and Manusamhita mention about Kalinga, Odra, Ukkala (Utkala) etc.(1).

During the period of Magadha ascendancy (273-261 B.C.), Kalinga was subdued for a while. About two hundred years later, it rose again under Mahameghabahana Kharavela fully avenging the defeat at the hands of the Mauryas. From first to fourth century in the Christian era, the Satavahanas, the Murundas, the Meghas and the Nagas exercised political influence at various times over Kalinga, Tri-Kalinga (Giri Kalinga), Kosal, Mahakantara, Amita Tosali, and Kurala regions. Thereafter, various dynasties acquired ascendancy in different regions from time to time—the Matharas in Kalinga (4th-5th century), the Eastern Gangas in middle Kalinga (5th-11th century), the Parvat-dwarakas in Kantara (5th

century), the Sura dynasty and the Sulkis in South Kosala (5th-6th century), the Nalas of Trikalinga (5th-6th century), the Saravapuriyas of South Kosala (5th-7th century), the Mudgalas of Tosali (6th century), the Vighrahas of north Kalinga and the Durjayas of South Kalinga (6th century), the Sailodbhavas of Kangoda Mandals (6th-7th century), the Sulkis of Kodalaka Mandala and Mayuras of Banai Mandala (8th-9th century) the Bhaumakaras of north and south Tosali and the Gangas of Svetaka Mandala (8th-10th century), the Bhanjas of Khinjali Mandala (8th-10th century), the Somavamsis of Kosala and Trikalinga (8th-12th century), the Tungas of Yamagartta Mandala and the Nandas of Airavatta Mandala (9th-10th century), the Bhanjas of Khijinga Mandala (10th-12th century), the imperial Gangas (11th-15th century), the Bhanjas of Ghumusar and Mayurbhanja (13th century and 16th-19th century), the Chauhans of Patna and Sambalpur (14th & 16th-19th century), the Suryavamsis (15th-16th century), the Gajapatis of Bhoi Dynasty (16th-19th century) and so on till we come to the rule of Turko-Afghans (1568-1590), Moghuls (1590-1760), Marathas (1760-1803) and the British (1803-1947).

### EARLY RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

This is a vast panorama, Baudhaya Dharmasutra (6th century B.C.) prescribed an offering of atonement (Punastoma or a Sarvapristha sacrifice) for those who visit the countries of the Arattas, the Kiraskaras, the Pundras, Sauviras, the Vangas, the Kalingas and the Pranunas(2). These countries were subsequently called the Mlechha countries. Megasthenes (317-312 B.C.) and Pliny (1st century A.D.) mentioned about mount Maleus (Malayagiri of Pallalahara of Dhenkanal district) and

the Oretes (Odra). The inhabitants of the Malaya ranges were the Manedes (Mundas) and the Suaris (Savaras). Asoka in his Jaugad edict spoke of his invincible neighbours, the Atavikas. Kharavela in his Hatigumpha Inscription mentioned about the Bidyadharas. These tracts were otherwise known as Astadasaataavika rajya and Astadasa Gondramas in the Betul plates and early medieval copper plate inscriptions which, in Moghul period, came to be known as Athara-Garjat. The origin of many dynasties of Orissa can be traced to a tribal lineage, either through legend or tradition—Pulindasena of Sailodbhava dynasty, Nisadapati of Nala dynasty, and so on. The Tungas of Yamagartta Mandala identified themselves as Astadasa Gondramadhipati, the ruler of eighteen Kingdoms. Thus, the sons of the soil had had a great part in the political and cultural history of Orissa.

### A DEFINITION OF CULTURE

In considering the culturally fashioned habit responses of a people, the words 'culture' and 'cultural condition' automatically come in for scrutiny. The two characteristic features of a cultural condition are that they provide a medium in which social institutions are moulded and secondly a memory mechanism by which to maintain and transmit the institutions after they come into being(3). The word 'culture' is a comprehensive term. Without going into its precise connotation, it may suffice to say that, it encompasses within its fold, the arts, dance, drama, music, literature, religion, philosophy and the entire gamut of activities that go to make a harmonious blending of the different life and social processes. "Culture", in the words of Bronislaw Malinowski, is essentially an instrumental reality which satisfied the needs



of man in a manner far surpassing any direct adaptation to the environment. It endows man with an additional extension of his anatomical apparatus, with a protective armour of defences and safeguards, with mobility and speed, extending the range of individual efficiency and power of action, giving depth of thought and breadth of vision and an indefinite continuity through concerted action and cumulative character of individual achievements(4).

In all his organised behaviour man is always governed by those elements which are outside any natural endowment. The essential foundation of culture lies in a deep modification of innate endowment in which most instincts disappear and are replaced by plastic though directed tendencies which can be moulded into cultural responses. Instinctive behaviour or purely biological release, thus, gets transformed into a system of plasticity of instincts—a combined psychological and physiological process determined in its temporal, spatial and formal nature by cultural tradition—the nongenetical inheritance of an active interpenetration of man and nature. The plasticity of instinctive tendencies which are transformed into attitudes and habit responses is the condition of cultural advance (5(a) (b)).

## THE EVOLUTION OF RELIGION

Now, "religion" is the product of a particular stage of development of society. As society evolves from the hunting and food-gathering stage to the settled agricultural stage it imposes a network of division of labour. Gradually its affective and cognitive organisations crystallise into the arts and the sciences and its magic, which contains its mythology and ritual and which served as the compendium of calendar and tribal guide of social and

economic relations, transforms itself into "religion". As society advances, as the environment gets more and more humanised as man gets more and more environmentalised, it calls for a new reorganisation of relations, of which "religion" is the byproduct(6).

Thus, "religious culture" can broadly be looked upon as the system of psychological and physiological habit response of a people determined as a result of division of labour characteristic of the stage of development of the society, in its relation to myth and rituals (to religion), operating within definite framework to maintain and transmit the same. It is conditioned simultaneously by a host of factors; all factors which determine or influence the culturally fashioned habit responses. This habit response is shaped by its "people", by the development of its society in course of history through the long line of savants and leaders and dynasties who wield political power over various geographical units, through a process of assimilation and synthesis, of defences and safeguards and of adaptation and innovations.

We have the vedic religion, to start with. The vedic period (2000-1400 B.C.) and the epic period (1400-1000 B.C.) of Indian history culminated in the rationalistic period (1000-320 B.C.) which witnessed the rise of Sutra Schools, the Sulva sutras, the six different systems of philosophy and also Jainism and Buddhism (6th century B.C.) (7). Mahavira preached his religion in Kalinga and Tapassu and Bhallika of Utkala were the first disciples of Buddha. According to tradition, Karandaka Vihara flourished as a centre of Jainism at the time of Karandaka. Jainism was the major religion of Kalinga up to about 4th century B.C. after which a period of proselytisation began with the conquest of Asoka and ushering in

of Buddhism. The process was reversed by Kharavela for a time who was an ardent follower of Jainism. The Hatigumpha inscription refers to excavation of 117 cave temples by Kharavela in the thirteenth year of his reign in Kumari Parvata or modern Udayagiri.

### JAINISM IN ORISSA

The spread of Jainism in South India in 5th century A.D. seem to have had its impact in Orissa. In 5th-6th century, Jainism appears to have spread in Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar



Jaina Tirthankaras—Cuttack Jain Temple.

areas. Abhidhana Rajendra describes a Jaina-Utsava at Anandapur on the banks of river Prachinabaha (Vaitarani) where Jainism seem to have developed

around 6th-7th century A.D. In 7th century A.D. large number of Jainas lived in Kangoda as attested by Huen-shang. The queen of Sailodbhava king Dharmaraja-II was a great patron of Jainism. Manjusri Mulakalpa records the story of the decline of Jainism after the advent of Sasanka in 7th century.

### EARLY BUDDHISM

The course of Buddhism in Orissa can be mapped graphically from the development of the monastic establishments (Viharas) in various parts of the State. In third century B.C. Bhojakagiri Vihara was constructed for Tisya, brother of Asoka and was the centre of Theravadi Buddhism. In second century A.D. Goutamiputra Satakarni built Parimalagiri (Gandhamardana giri) Vihara in Kosala for the Buddhist philosopher Nagarjuna, the propounder of Madhyamika Darshana, Muchalinda Vihar (in Ganiapalli of Padmapur Sub-division of Sambalpur) flourished about this time till 6th-7th century. Till third century A.D., Dantapura was the centre of Buddhism in Kalinga because of Danta Dhatu which was sent to Simhala by Guhasiva in third century. About this time Suravagiri (Dhauligiri) Vihara flourished in Tosali with Acharya Sarvagami, the propounder of Joga-chara Vijnanavada, at its head. Puspagiri Vihare flourished between 3rd-7th century A.D. Upasika Bodhisri built a Saila-mandap at Puspagiri as is known from the Nagarjuna Konda inscription of 3rd century A.D. and Huenshang visited it in 7th century A.D. Bhora Saila, the Asrama of Acharya Dingnag also flourished by 4th-5th century A.D. Dingnag was contemporary of Mathara King Sakti Varma (400-420 A.D.) and his minister built 16 Viharas in Kalinga at the behest of Dingnag. Fa-hian mentions that Tamralipti had 24 Viharas in 5th century A.D. Triratna



Das, desciple of Vasumitra (centemporary of Dingnag) established about 50 educational and religious institutions in different parts of Orissa. Ratnagiri Vihara was established in fifth century at the time of Gupta King Baladitya (470-472 A.D.). At that time Orissa had



Buddha—Achutarajpur, 10th century A.D.

eight famous Viharas including Debagiri (in Mayurbhanja). The accounts of Huenshang (639 A.D.) reveals that at that time there were about hundred monastic establishments in Odra with about ten thousand Vikshyus and fifty Deva temples. In Kalinga there were ten Sangharamas with five hundred Vikshyus, and more than hundred Deva temples. Similarly, in Kosala there were more than hundred Viharas and ten thousand Vikshyus and large number Deva emples. At this time thtere were

more than hundred Deva temples in Kangoda and more than ten thousand Jainas (Tirthikas). Dharmakirtti was the chief exponent of Buddhism in Kalinga in 7th century A.D. His Vihara is believed to have flourished near Jagamunda of Koraput. Some Viharas were erected in Kosala at the time of Mahasivagupta (830-850 A.D.) Vikshyu Ananda-prava built a Vihara which was patronised by Balarjuna (750-810 A.D.)

### THE LATER BUDDHISM

In eighth century the Vajrayana of Indrabhuti and Sahajayana of Laxmin-kara of Oddiyan, one of the four Tantra Pithas of India flourished. By ninth century A.D. Jayasri Vihara and Arghyaka Baratika Vihara flourished in Uttara Tosali and the Jayasrama Vihara in Talcher. Mangusri Vihara flourished in 11th century and the Jagadala Vihara in 12th-13th century.

Appearing later on the scene, the revival of Brahmanism took a steady course. In course of competing with Buddhism, it not only substantially changed its original character but also made adaptations and accommodations to an extent which ultimately resulted in complete oblivion of Buddhism. In an effort to make it more acceptable, it had included, by 3rd century B.C., within its fold Saivism, Saktism and Bhagavatism. Therefore, its subsequent course of development was two fold, Firstly, Saivism/Saktism, etc. developed or were patronised at various times, not at the cost of but as a form of or supplement to Brahmanism and thus generating a spirit of religious tolerance and secularism. Secondly, in its competition race with other religions there was always a process of give and take, of synthesis and assimilation.

Thus, with the advent of Gupta age (4th century A.D.) we find Sanskrit as

the official language and the language of the books and the epigraphs. The Vighras, the Matharas, the Sailodbhavas, the Bhaumas, and the Somavamsis used Sanskrit in their charters and copper plates. A work like Panchatantra was composed in Orissa during the rule of Matharas. During 4th to 8th centuries we come across a succession of dynasties advocating different faiths and religions and it would be reasonable to treat this period as the formative stage of the religious culture of Orissa.

### REVIVAL OF BRAHMANISM

Satru Bhanja of Bindhyatavi (Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar, Singhbhum area) who took a leading part in the overthrow of Kusan-Murunda rule pursued a policy of religious tolerance and secularism as evident from the Asanapat inscription (3rd-4th century A.D.). His political influence is believed to have spread up to Tamralipti in the east, Amita Tosali in South east, and Ahichhatra in west (in U.P.). He was a great patron of Brahmanism and was well versed in the sastras. From this time on, Brahmanic religion began to percolate to the different strata of society. The sastras and puranas began to form part of the curriculum of education and discussion among the elite and the aristocracy. Under the Murundas, "Deva" images had already been installed. This process of revival continued unabated through successive dynasties. By fourth century, its impact on the social life of the people had begun to be noticeable and by 7th-8th century had been firmly entrenched in the body politic of the society. The Matharas styled themselves as Parama Daivata, Parama Bhagavata, Narayana swami Pada Bhakta, etc., and during their regime Narayana Puja and Pitri Puja were introduced in the society. The Nalas respected Brahmins and

cows and encouraged Vishnu Pada (Vamana Incarnation) worship. Worship of Narayan, Madhusudan, Madhava and Laxmi flourished under the Gangas. The Sailodbhavas held Aswamedha sacrifice. The temples of Satrugneswar, Parasurameswar, Swarnagaleswar, Swapneswar, Simghanath, Bhawani-sankar, etc., were constructed during the Sailodbhava period. The Mudgalas, the Durjayas and the Gangas encouraged Pitri Puja. The Saravapuriyas styled themselves as Parama Bhagavatas. Study of Sastras and Puranas gained ground and prestige and the system of donating lands to Brahmins and creating Agrahara villages for spread of learning come to stay. Worship of Narayana, Madhusudan, Madhava, Laxmi Narayana, Dasa Avatara, Rama, Krishna and his childhood exploits (Bala Charita) became popular and found its way into the social life of the people. Vasudev, Krishna, Narayana, Madhusudan, Madhava and Vishnu had become one and the same.

### THE CULT OF SHAKTI

The course of development of Saktism and Saivism may be viewed as a part of the development of Brahmanism. The worship of Stambheswari was prevalent from 5th century in Dakkhina Kosala, Trikalanga, and Kantara under the Sulkis, the Tungas and the Bhanjas. Viraja of Jajpur mentioned in Vayu Purana and Hari Vamsa, the Vaitarani and Viraja Tirtha of Mahabharat, the Navigaya of Vishnu Purana and the Sidha Pitha of Kubija Tantra had flourished as a centre of Saktism from 4th-5th century to about 8th century and presents a fascinating amalgam of A.D. Saktism and Tantrik Buddhism. The tradition of Gayasura being killed by Visnu, represents the period of conflict with Buddhism—Guhasiva was the Buddhist king in third century B.C. (Dathavamsa and Guhasiva Pataka





Mahisamardini—Khajuraho.

near Jajpur was the capital of the Bhaumas. By the time Vaital temple was built, Bhubaneswar witnessed a peculiar blending of Saktism, Saivism and Mahayana Buddhism. Two armed, six armed and eight armed images of Durga had cropped up at innumerable places along with images of Tara, the primordial deity of Buddhist Pantheon and its variants. The seven tongues of Agni as described in Mundaka Upanisada had crystallised into the Sapta Marikas with their attributes derived from Markandeya, Agni, Matsya and other Puranas.

#### SHAIIVISM

Along with Saktism, Saivism developed almost colaterally. We find its earliest evidence in the Asanapata in-

scription and Nataraj Siva of 3rd-4th century in Damaneswar Siva of 4th century (Trikalinga), in the caves of 5th century near Bhaskareswar temple, and in Dengapasi and Sitabinji (4th-5th or 5th-6th century) and in Gokarneswar Siva (6th century). Worship of Siva flourished under the Mudgalas, Gangas, Sailodbhavas and the Nalas. Ekamra Purana preserves a tradition of a struggle between Buddhism and Saivism. Sasanka, the overlord of Kangoda was a great champion of the cause of Saivism in 7th century A.D. The Kapila Samhita, Ekamra Purana, Ekamra Chandrika and Swarnadrimahodaya describe the ever-lasting achievements of Sasanka for his construction of the temple of Tribhubaneswar Siva at Ekamra Kshetra.

Thus, by eighth century A.D. we begin to get an integrated picture which contains the story of the rise of Brahmanism as also the story of development, transformation, adaptation and metamorphosis of Buddhism in Orissa and its consequent assimilation in its life in the process of cultural synthesis. The zealous missionary activities of Buddhism initiated from the time of Asoka, had its counter reaction in Brahmanism. In Taittiriya Aranyaka written in 3rd century B.C. Saivism, Bhagavatism and Saktism, were included in the fold of Brahmanism and a vigorous movement of revival started thereafter with "Manu" (2nd century B.C.) as the codifier and reformer. Buddhism responded with the Jatakas, the Avadana literature, Lalita Vistara, Mahavastu, Buddha Charita, etc., and with the conception of Buddha as Parama Karunika and later on with Prajna Paramita (1st century A.D.) of Sarvastivadis.

Mahayana Buddhism was in the ascendant till the first part of the Bhauma rule. In course of time it had

been infected with esotericrites, protective spells and magic formulae called *Dharanis*, eventually getting supplanted by mystic practices, like *Abhicharas* and *Panchamakaras*, etc., & ultimately begetting Tantric Buddhism, and later on Vajrayana (*Kriya tantra*, *Charya Tantra*, *Yoga Tantra*, and *Anuttara Tantra*), *Kalachakrayana* and *Sahajayana* with its shift to spontaneous Yogic contemplation. Vajrayana meant, so far as Buddhism was concerned, a preference for mysticism and esoterism rather than metaphysical theories and the integration of various tantriks yoga methods. The void of Vajrayana, differing as it did from *Madhyamika* and *Yogachara* Schools, in the inclusion of the three elements void, consciousness and bliss (*Sunya*, *Vignana* & *Mahasukha*) made rapprochement with Hinduism easy. The theory of human body as the abode of all *tattvas*, *pithas* and deities and its propitiation by *sexo-yogic* rituals, ultimately degenerated into a bundle of *sexo-physical* practices and society abhorred it. The exclusiveness, flexibility and syncretic trend of Tantricism were responsible for the dramatic metamorphosis of Buddhist theories and cults and their subsequent complete absorption by *Natha* and *Sahaja Yoga*.

As a result, Buddhism as a spiritual force was on the defensive and gradually lost State patronage from about 8th-9th century. The ascendancy of Brahmanism accentuated this. Thus, we find that by 6th-7th century, a synthesis of Saivism, Saktism and Tantrism had been achieved in *Viraj Tirtha*. We find the same phenomenon repeated at *Bhubaneswar* by 7th century. The same forces are seen at work in the Saiva temples of *Baud* which bear distinct tantrik influences. We also find that Buddhism of the *Bhauma* period was tending to merge into Hinduism, particularly into Saivism and Saktism. *Tantra* which flourished rapidly or

rather logarithmically and was studied in *Ratnagiri* had come to be discredited. In the *Bhakti Bhagavata* of *Kavi Dindima Jivadeva* it is stated that the famous Brahmin *Bharadeva* who was the priest of *Udyotakesari* (1040-1065 A.D.), lifted the world when it was being submerged in the ocean of *Tantras*. "Brahmanism, met the challenge of Buddhism by taking the wind out of its sails—it accepted Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu .. They thus accepted a heresy as one of the various complex intellectual dogmas within the fold of Brahmanism." The incorporation of Buddha in the Hindu pantheon as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu practically dispensed with the need of Buddhism as a separate spiritual force.

*Brahma Purana* (900-1500 A.D.) *Agni Purana* (900 A.D.), *Baraha Purana* (800-1400 A.D.), *Padma Purana* (950-1400 A.D.), and *Bhagavat Purana* (600-1400 A.D.) described Buddha as one of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. The *Dasavatara* image of *Kakatpur* (8th-9th century), and *Saintala* (8th century) included Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu. *Sisupala Badha* of *Magha*, *Kumarila Bhatta* (7th century), *Sankaracharya* (785-822 A.D.) had described Buddha as an *Avatara*. The *Nilamata Purana* (6th-7th century) of *Kashmir*, and *Khemendra* (1029-1064 A.D.) in his *Divyavadana Kalpalata* described Buddha as *Avatar* of Vishnu. In the works of *Jayadev*, in *Gaya Mahatmya* and *Vishnu Purana*, Buddha is an incarnation of Vishnu.

## SYNTHESIS OF RELIGIOUS CULTURES

Thus, by eighth century, we behold the beginning of a trend, a synthesis, a phenomenon of blending of Saivism, Saktism, Brahmanism and Buddhism in the crucible of the cultural conditions of *Orissa*, though as yet it did not

acquire a proper identification, shape or forum. In eighth century, the Sulkis (Kodalaka Mandala—Dhenkanal), the Mayuras (Bonai Mandal), the Bhaumakaras (Tosali), the Bhanjas (Khinjali Mandala—Sonepur, Baud, Phulbani areas), the Gangas (Svetaka Mandal—Chikiti, Sanakhemidi, Badakhemidi), and the Somavamsis (Kosala—Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir; and Trikalalinga—Koraput and Kalahandi) were in the political field. There were three broad political and cultural units or divisions—Kosala, Utkala and Kangoda. The dominion of Bhaumakaras included Cuttack, Puri, Balasore, Angul, Hindol, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Pallalahara, a part of Keonjhar, northern Ganjam and Dandabhukti (Midnapore). Kangoda [from South of Mahanadi to Rusikulya—Ganjam, Puri, portions of Cuttack and Dhenkanal, Phulbani] and Svetaka [Chikiti, Badakhemidi and Sanakhemidi] were under their suzerainty, and the Sulkis of Kodalaka Mandala (Dhenkanal) were their feudatories. The process of unification continued further by the Somavamsis and the Gangas. The Somavamsis were Trikalalingadhipati (Kalahandi & Koraput). They conquered Khijinga-kota (Mayurbhanja and part of Keonjhar), Svetakas and Khinjali Mandala (Sonepur Baud region, later on known as Odra Desa of which Airavatta Mandala i.e. south Dhenkanal, Western Cuttack and Nayagarh formed a part) and annexed Dakhina Tosali (Kangoda), Bonai Mandala and Yamagartta Mandala (north Dhenkanal and part of Keonjhar) were under their suzerainty. Udyotakesari styled himself as the lord of Utkal (north & south Tosali), Kosala (then otherwise known as Paschima Lanka), and Odra Desa but subsequently lost Kosala to the Nagas and the Kalachuris. Kalinga and Kangoda were lost by them to Vagrahasta Deva-V of Ganga dynasty. In 1112 AD the Gangas defeated Kalachuris and occupied

Sambalpur and Bolangir. By 1118 A.D., Utkala was annexed to the Ganga empire. Sonepur region (Western frontier of Orissa) was occupied by Ganga King Anangabhima Deva-III (1211-38 A.D.). The Gangas, thus, united Orissa politically and culturally for the first time. In the accounts of the Muslims, the Portuguese, the Telugus, and the Ganga Kings have been referred to as Oriya Kings and their Kingdom as the Oriya country.

Simultaneous with the process of political unification, the process of further cultural synthesis was in the anvil. The period from 9th century to 12th century was a period of transition leading to the final synthesis. It was the period of merging of Saktism, in Saivism, rise and fall of Saivism, and of gradual ascendancy of Vaishnavism. The Bhaumakara Kings and Queens (736-950 AD) beginning from Suvakara Deva-III (838-845 AD) were patrons of Saivism and later some kings patronised Vaishnavism. The temples of Sisireswar, Baital, Taleswar, Bahirangeswar, Gandharadhi, etc., were constructed during their regime. The Somavamsis (700-1118 AD) patronised Bhagavat Dharma but the kings of this dynasty from Balarjuna (750-810 A.D.) declared themselves as Parama Maheswara. The kings of Khinjali Mandala were worshippers of Vishnu (Nilamadhava and Santosa Madhava temples) and from Nettabhanja-III to Vidyadhara Bhanja worshipped Siva. The Saivism professed by the Somavamsis (Matta mayura cult), however, was different from that prevalent during the Bhauma period (Pasupata cult). The Somavamsis constructed Rajrani, Lingaraja, Brahmeswar and Mukteswar temples. The Gangas (1038-1435 AD) were originally Saivas but after their conquest of Orissa they became more inclined towards Vaisna-



vism. During the Ganga period Saktism also took a different form. In this period male deities were provided with consorts or female counterparts. A tradition recorded in Madalapanji states that Chodaganga Deva banished all goddesses from Orissa. During the Ganga period the temples of Jagannatha Sovaneswar (Niali), Megheswar (Bhubaneswar), Konarka, Ananta Vasudeva, Chandeswar, Bhaskareswar, etc., were constructed.

### JAGANNATHA CULT

Meanwhile, Purusottama Kshetra was gradually assuming prominence. It had had enjoyed a hoary antiquity in tradition; in the Apurusa Daru of Rik Veda and Atharva Veda and in many other ancient texts. By seventh century Bhagavan Purusottama had appeared in the Kailan copper plate inscription and by eighth century Jagannatha in Jnanasidhi of Indrabhuti, King of Uddiyana. The Anargha Raghava of Murari Misra (9th century), Trikaṇḍaśeṣa of Purusottama Deva (9th century) mentioned Jagannatha. Similarly, Matsya Purana (400-1250 AD), Skanda Purana (700-1300 AD), Agni Purana (900 AD), Brahma Purana (900-1500 AD), Padma Purana (950-1400 AD), Kalika Purana (11th century), Ratnamala of Satyananda (11th century) mentioned variously about Purusottama Kshetra/Darumurti/Balabhadra/Jagannatha/Nilagiri' etc. The Kalidindi grant (1031 AD) of Chalukya King Rajaraj and the inscription of Kalachuri King Gopal Dev at the Boran Deo temple (1083 AD) also mentioned about Purusottama Deva/Purusottama Kshetra.

From the beginning of Ganga rule the shrine of Jagannatha had become famous. Yayati-I (885-925 AD) of Somavamsi dynasty and Chodagangadev (1077-1147 AD) had built magnificent temples in the shrine which

gradually became famous as a great religious centre. The political condition of India in 12th century after Turkish invasion also enhanced its sacredness.

The unifying impulse which originated in the formative stage of our religious culture further gained momentum in the context of subsequent cultural conditions of Orissa. By 9th-10th century, the Yogini Pitha of Ranipur Jharial had developed as Soma Tirtha (mentioned in Vayu Purana) under Gaganasivacharya, an ascetic of Mattamayura sect, which had its echo in Hirapur by 10th century. The Somavansis were secular and cosmopolitan in their religious outlook. Udyotakeswari (1040-1065 AD) tolerated the creation of Jaina monuments during his reign. Nathism evolved in 12th century as a reactionary movement against the erotic practices of Tantric Buddhism, its precursor being Yoginikula Tantra and Hatha Yoga, and soon transformed itself into Tantric or Yogic Saivism. Around this time Saivism endeavoured to grow up as a purifier and reformer in the entire eastern India with a supporting literature based on ideals of austerity and simple living. The Bhakti cult which also grew up as an egalitarian movement throughout northern India as a sequel to Mahammedan invasion rule combated Hindu sacerdotalism and exclusiveness. But very soon it was infected by Sahajia ideals and by about 13th century even Sri Krishna was not spared and was being portrayed as a wanton Sahajia Sidha. Saivism had also contaminated sahajia ideals and was ultimately discredited.

### BHAKTI MOVEMENT

According to Ekamra Purana, Vasudev along with his brother Ananta agreed to fix his abode as Kshetrapal of Ekamra Kshetra at the request of Siva. But in Kapila Samhita, at the heyday



of Vaishnavism, the position was just the reverse. Here, Siva propitiated Vasudeva and made him agree to his making Ekamra his abode(11). Lingaraj of Bhubaneswar became Hari-Hara as also the Narasinghanatha of Hari Sankara. Bhakti was first becoming an exclusive spiritual Marga.

The overhanging shadow of Muslim invasion towards the end of the 10th century and foreign rule added a poignancy to the entire cultural field and also a cultural determinism. It also imparted a hallow to the Bhakti cult. It was not merely a question of exposure to a new situation but a question of survival of the entire religious culture.

Mahammedan rule finally came to Orissa in 1568 AD nearly after 400 years. Orissa was the last light house of freedom, the last citadel of refuge from persecution. It was the last sanctuary for the preservation of the ideals of religion and society. When Nalanda and Vikramasila Viharas were destroyed by Bhaktiyar Khilji and Buddhists were persecuted, Jagadala Vihara of Orissa was their last refuge and shelter. The Bhakti Movement brought in all the leaders of different denominations of the Bhakti movements to Orissa; Ramanuja (1037-1137 AD) in 12th century with his Bishistadwaitavada (qualified monism) and Pancharatra Paddhati at the time of Chodaganga Deva (1077-1147 AD), Nimbarka with his Dwaita dwaita vada (12th century), Vishnuswami (11th-12th century), Madhwacharya in 12th century with his yogic philosophy, Narahari Tirtha (at the time of Bhanu Deva-I (1264-1276 A.D.) and Narasimha Deva-II (1278-1306 A.D.), Ramananda (1299-1410 A.D.), Sridharaswami (15th century), Ballavacharya (1476-1532 A.D.) with his Suddha Dwaitavada and Brajalila,

Kavira (1410-1518 A.D.), Chaitanya (from 1509 to 1533 A.D.) with his Gaudiya Prema Bhakti and Nanaka (1469-1538 A.D.) etc.

## SRI CHAITANYA

With Chaitanya and with State patronage behind him, Gaudiya Prema-Bhakti (otherwise known as Raganuga Suddha Bhakti or Achintya Bheda-veda Tatva) gained ground rapidly. It treated Krishna as Avatari, of whom Vishnu was an Avatara. Bhakti or devotion and self surrender was the best way of realisation of Krishna or Bhagavata, whose quality is Madhurya and who is propitiated in nine ways—Sravana, Kirtana, Vishnu-Smarana, Pada Sevana, Archana, Bandana, Dasya, Sakhya and Nivedana. Realisation consists in attaining Gopitva or Parikaratva. But inspite of it the spiritual legacy of Yoga not only still persisted but also prevailed for a long time. The religious ideas of the Yogic philosophers of Orissa (Pancha-Sakha) was an amalgam of the Sunya of Vajrayana, Alekha of Nathism, Sakti and Saktidhara of Panchratra Paddhati of Ramanuja, Adya Sakti of Tantra, and Rama and Krishna of Bhakti Dharma. Their Sankirtana Mantra related to Radha and Krishna, but the Japa-Mantra related to "Sunya." The eight ways of Yoga and pranayama was the method of attaining Sunyata, the prime principle of all creation. Therefore, they were intensely concerned with creation and its theories. Jnana which meant the realisation of Brahma in man, occupied a central place in their theology. It was variously called as Jnana by Achyutananda, Brahma-Bhakti-Yoga by Chaitanya Das, Parama Bhakti in Nirguna Mahatmya, Brahma-Jnana-Sadhana in Tulavina of Jagannath Das, Divya-Jnana in Brahmanda-Bhugola of Balarama Das etc. The Utkaliya Vaishnavism, thus, conceived of Vishnu

as Avatari and Krishna as an Avatara. Realisation of Mokshya or attainment of Nirvana was the aim ; neither Gopitwa nor Parikaratwa and the method of its realisation was the Pinda Brahmanda Tatva and also Yogachara (Astanga Marga). Krishna was Nirguna and Sunya-rupi. Jnana occupied a higher place than Bhakti and thus it was known as Jnana-misra-Bhakti(12).

This spiritual background was reinforced and devotaled into the new trends which were discernible in the cultural field of Orissa by 14th-15th Century. Oriya language which began from the time of Charya-songs was taking a slow but definite shape. Vaishnavism was fast helping to create a firm foundation for development of regional languages and literature as Buddhism had done in the past for development of Pali and Apavramsa literature. Alongwith these polarities there was a sharp reaction against dominance of Sanskrit and brahmin culture in the day to day life and in the social, economic and spiritual pursuits of the people. On top of this, Kapilendra Deva (1435-1468 A.D.) became the Gajapati of Orissa in 1435 A.D. and he was the first Oriya to have become the King of Orissa in the course of more than two thousand years of its history.

In 1216 A.D. Anangabhimha (1211-1238 A.D.) had declared himself as the deputy and the son of Purusottama, Rudra and Durga. Later, he and his son Narasingha Deva (1238-64 A.D.) declared themselves as the Raut (Deputy) and the son of Purusottama and Sri Jagannath was declared as the supreme lord of the empire. Kapilendra Deva also declared himself as the sevaka or servant of Sri Jagannath.

Thus, the impulse for a synthesis acquired a new dimension, identification, shape and forum. The raw materi-

al of synthesis was entirely indigenous. The presiding deity was local who acquired a cosmopolitanism. It imparted a continuity through historical times and a racial memory stretching back to milleniums thus, giving it a dimension of spatio-temporal triumph. The cumulative effect of all the above factors and forces was a grand synthesis. Before the commencement of Ganga period Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism were the three main cults. During the Ganga period the Pithas or shrines continued to bear distinct labels but a type of cosmopolitanism developed in their forms of worship. With Saivism in the defensive from after 12th century due to its contamination with Tantricism, with Saktism taking a different turn from and after Chodaganga Deva, with the rise of Bhakti cult in India as a reaction against foreign rule and with Vishnavism in the ascendant, with the orientation of Vaisnavism by Mahima cult and the yogic philosophers, with an unbroken continuance of foreign rule in India from 1206 to 1947 A.D. preceded by a century of foreign invasion and thus with an overall need of preserving the values of religion and society, in a buffer region engulfed in a hostile atmosphere allround in a time span of four hundred years and where the kingdom belongs to the presiding deity and the King is His Raut and son and with Oriya language taking a definite shape and the decline of brahmanic influence, there was an imperative need of synthesis of cults and sects by adopting principles not merely from the different cults of Hinduism but also from Buddhism, Jainism and other primitive cults. And Jagannath was the obvious and the natural choice for this synthesis. Here, at His shrine the unique spectacle of a synthesis of Animism, Daru worship, Jainism, Buddhism, Tantricism, Saivism, Saktism, Vaishnavism, Soura cult,

Ganapatya cult, Sunyavade etc. etc. took place in an unprecedented manner.

Thus the religion [Dharma] and culture [Sanskriti] of Orissa has been called Jagannatha Dharma and Jagannatha Sanskriti. It is the religion of the masses (Gana Dharma) of Orissa and embodies within itself the principles of secularism, religious tolerance and coexistence, equality of castes and

creeds and of socialism. This is the religious culture of Orissa. This is the psychological and physiological habit response pattern of the people of Orissa. Jagannatha is the great institution which sustains it and keeps its going. The great myths and rituals have revolved round Him concentrically and have shaped the religious culture that is Orissa.

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Sri Radha Mohan Gadanayak is one of the seniormost poets who has distinguished himself as a metrist poet of rare excellence. As a Balladist he also occupies an eminent place. His contributions to the growth of Oriya Poetry, has been recognised by the Central Sahitya Akademi, by its prestigious Award. Nature has been the predominant theme of his poems. The poem "O' Earth" is one of his best pieces, which has been translated by the poet himself.—*Ed.*

## O' EARTH

RADHA MOHAN GADANAYAK

O' Earth, Be thou again the Kamadhenu,  
The donor of all desires.  
Should we, the Scion of Manu  
Die of hunger  
On the loving bosom of thine ?  
O' Earth, Be thou again the Kamadhenu,  
the donor of all desires.

Cornless were the fields, leafless were the trees,  
Houses were bereft of food  
Bewildered with the baffling famine,  
The people with rising groans,  
Filled the dry passages and dusty skies,  
O' Earth,  
Thou appeared in form of Kamadhenu,  
The donor of all desires.

Spake thou the words,  
Soft with love,  
"Milch me O' king".

Manu became the calf,  
Prthu, the milker,  
Flowed then the fount of milk,  
Plentitude of Corn,  
Glows then the pale world  
with the charms anew.

Flourished the seasons of fortune and affluence  
Again  
Bubbled up every home and hearth  
With bread, butter and milk and curd  
With pleasant contentment.

What an age was that I  
And different our time I  
No single soul now rules  
Rings now the trumpet of the mass.

Science on the nature's breast  
Plants  
The standard of his victory  
In his Maddened march.

Alas I the scion of Manu,  
the heir of the day  
Prays not the blessings of the heaven,  
Prays not the flood of Moonbeams,  
Prays not the showers of Indra's cloud,  
Supplicates not the free zephyr.

But is he for the conquest of space ?  
..... Sends his sputnik higher and higher  
To the distance unknown,  
In quest of colonies new  
With boundless joys.

Lits large the electric bulbs in number  
Yet then why  
the darkness deepens ?  
Sends his dove of peace to all the corners,  
Yet then why  
The flames of revolt  
Spring out every step ?  
why then the torrent of wants  
Looms so large ?

Why in every home and hearth  
A cry for food ?

Alas I the proud jubilece  
of the great victory won  
carries at its very core  
A supressed groan I

O' Earth, Be thou again the Kamadhenu  
The donor of all desires.  
Should we, the scion of Manu  
Die of hunger ?  
O' Earth,  
Be thou again the Kamadhenu,  
The donor of all desires.



One of the leading poets in Oriya in post-independence period, he has been able, however, to communicate with a larger audience through the translations of his own poems in English. The contribution of Sitakanta to the evolution of contemporary Oriya Poetry, rests on his use of striking imageries and archetypes, nearer to common experience. A sweet nostalgia, for the lost innocence with a metaphysical overtone runs through most of his poems. He is the recipient of the prestigious Central Sahitya Akademi Award for poetry. "THE HOUSE" is one of his representative poems.—*Ed.*

## THE HOUSE

SITAKANT MAHAPATRA

I, exiled prince,  
lived on in the jungles with my mother.

The kingdom gone, the subjects too ;  
the palace and throne flowed away with the song of  
fate.

Father's murder, the general's conspiracy—  
with their fearful masks they take long strides  
towards me.

And all alone in the dark cave of the jungle,  
seeking refuge, to save our lives,  
were my mother and me.

The early morning fog and the pallid gaslights,  
the torn carpets, broken benches all,  
together carried me from the cave to another house  
as a dead soldier is removed from the stage's centre.  
And it seemed as though it was my uncle's house  
(the palace and jungle were never my own)—  
the summer holidays were on, the school closed  
and I, a guest for the time at my uncle's home ;  
to return again, across the endless distance,  
the silent ricefields and the palms,  
with the weary kites circling in the sky

Then through the weekly village fair,  
the deity, then the village, and to my house at last.  
And through the different rooms,  
leading into that room in the corner  
where my mother lay in pain  
on a dark monsoon night of rain



Prayers of the villagers the midwife's solace.  
and a silence that reigned on  
in spite of the comforting words the neighbours;  
in this lonely jungle of pain all alone  
were my mother and me,  
exiled queen, the luckless prince.

On the walls even today  
burn the shiny, bloated bellies of cowries  
through the mud and dung plaster in that same  
corner-room ;  
the goddess of Birth looks on from her niche still  
although I've become a summer afternoon whirlwind,  
forgetting my toys, kites, beads and crayons,  
forgetting even my own address  
and the little shelf of my consciousness,  
whirling about helpless and hapless  
sometimes at Cuttack or at Chhatrapur,  
Timbuctoo or Bhubaneswar.

But everywhere I sense that I am no stranger,  
the faces shining as stars in the bare sky ;  
in the darkness of space the fireflies flit by,  
things appear familiar, even though  
all of them stare stupidly at me,  
and their eyes ask without voicing the questions ;  
"Who are you child ? Where is your home ?  
And who your father and mother ?"  
What answer could I give ? I recall  
the psalms sung at school :

"Lord, these relations and friends,  
father and mother, sons and daughters,  
brothers and sisters, are simply symbols  
of your benevolence."

And I remember also the broken strains  
of the tambourine, and the song :  
"The riches you have amassed all through  
when your breath goes, you're just a spirit, true."

Tears of both are in my eyes.

Still doubts creep in : was I a stranger here ?  
or have I not buried my fallen teeth in that rat-hole,  
swum and dived deep in the muddy pool over there ?  
And trembling, touched the fresh-grass-body  
of that girl,  
to vanish simply in the deep blue lakes of her eyes ?  
Exhausted, have I not fallen asleep  
in the shadows of space across the desolate river ?

(Translated from original Oriya by—Jayanta Mohapatra)

Sri Prasanna Patsani is one of the prominent poets in Oriya who came into prominence in the late sixties. His earlier poems were marked with a sense of commitment and social valurs. Since then his poetry has been influenced by mysticism and metaphysics ; though in the core he remains a Romantic. JAGANNATH, the poem selected for the Souvenir is one of his best pieces, written in English.—*Ed.*

## JAGANNATH

PRASANNA PATSANI

And the cripple on the Highway  
on the simple go of life  
the entire earth and the sky  
focussed in His movement  
a silhouette beauty of His glowing self  
drive into the ocean of knowledge.

Eyes of Jagannath robed  
in the primitive culture of man  
blackness shields all virtues  
a paragon of excellence glides in it  
and a tribal colour races in His gesture.

A shepherd of black race  
grandeures in the coloured zest  
and the whole theme of life vibrates  
like the caravan cloud  
in the flash of His infinite sky  
puppeting the world in His hand  
He sits on the land of pure conscience.

Maya appears a lady of deceiving beauty  
in the cycloma of His great vision  
every particle resounds His glory  
in the flourescent colour of breath  
and costs the cosmic ripples.  
Prime need of His divine self  
manifested descending from the void  
echoes in the sky and water  
a lusty petal of earth groped  
His fragrance, His sound  
eclipsed in Om !

A quadrangle shaped body  
with four direction of Vedas  
confounded its glory to  
the lively tree of Nim  
the momentum of His round eyes  
with a powerful retina of seven scenes

Jagannath transcends on the  
Chariot of Nandighosh  
subduing the remnant of the  
perished bodies. His lustour  
twists the darkness of the universe.

Man born of lust  
his tempting air mingles  
in the cascading virtues  
of His black body  
and fires the nerve of creation.

His roaming black white eyes  
peers into the ocean of darkness  
and the light of nectar  
vulture and jackle reads  
the ensuing time of death & birth  
under His ruling canopy.

His descendants of Dwapar  
now feeble like the part  
of His chariot and the black  
time of Kali worships them  
in the perished earth.  
sea waves of worldly cares  
driven in the contour line of His will.

In the profound vale of virtue  
man sparkles in His glow  
sea drops to a drop  
ignorance melts to light.  
In the magnificent road of conscience  
the same crippled body becomes  
a prime of fire  
the closed petal of water  
the hollowness of wind  
pleading over all.

A driving vehicle of all action  
a flamebouyant will of the universe  
appear in the plasma of creation  
on the great corridor of life cycle  
curse and bliss innates  
from His womb.

In the coiled bed of life  
His being rolls with the calm serenity  
in the uplip's sound of the child  
His divine music clots.  
His glow insists in the human body  
But still in the sundry forms  
moving in the magnificent road.

In the burning cauldron  
of this earth, in the mingles  
of vice and virtue  
still you revive in the old lotus posture  
with different gaze.

The day of your car-festival  
shakes the norms of devotee  
clasping in your parallel arms  
you mad in infinity.  
Your conch shell blowing  
churning the blue of sin  
resides in the finer state in our being.

The universal play emerges  
from His Body and still  
mingles in Him, and this  
sportive earth draws the  
horoscope of your vision.

Lord Jagannath in His black eyes  
fostering the hell  
and my lustful nature  
renovates like the singer  
on His chariot meets  
His being. His black eyes  
creeping on the lust  
of the universe  
a play of fire with conch  
and wheel, still a black cripple  
on the layers of vice and virtue  
stagnant in the cool of conscience  
and inherent in child's cry  
and burial ground.





# THE QUEST

SURENDRA MOHANTY

That familiar corner in the park wore a desolate look. John, Jean and Jenny were not there. Yet it had been settled in the eatery only the other day, they would be there, sharp at the appointed time. On the basis of that arrangement, Sunanda had persuaded the itinerant Yogi Maharaj to accompany him to the park to initiate them into the mysteries of his cult.

After a long and endless wait Sunanda was getting impatient. Oh ! these unpredictable foreigners ! Yogi Maharaj who sat by him in lotus posture was also shuffling his body with impatience. Raising his half-open eyes, Yogi Maharaj mumbled "Hari Om ! Hari Om !" Then he started smoking *ganja* from his long, red and blue-beaded *chillum* as one self-immersed. The afternoon sun had already dipped into the horizon, casting a reddish glow all over the earth and the sky.

"Are they coming at all ?" Yogi Maharaj asked through a thick cloud of smoke.

"What does your crystal say ?"

Yogi Maharaj thoughtfully pulled a glass bead from his necklace before his eyes and gazed into it. "What does it say ?" asked Sunanda, anxiously.

"They may come. May not come. It all depends..." Yogi Maharaj replied in a noncommittal voice.

Such equivocal answers got on Sunanda's nerves. He asked in a sharp voice, "On what ?"

Yogi Maharaj remained silent for a while, thoughtfully concentrating on the *ganja*—smoke coursing through him; then he replied, "These are imponderables."

Sunanda lost his patience. He snarled, "You can reserve your jargon for those foreigners. They will feel impressed. But tell me in simple language, are they coming at all ? You know how hard I worked for this meeting."

"But who can fathom His wishes ?" Yogi Maharaj pointed a finger at the sky.

"But surely, Guruji, you can say, you are a *Trikaladarsi*, you can pierce through the three dimensions of time, at least that is how I have projected you", Sunanda replied in a tone of desperation.

Yogi Maharaj puffed out a thick curl of blue smoke and said through bouts of broken cough, "Time past, present and future, is all void. Meaning Nothing."

For Sunanda, this was the limit. Yogi Maharaj was accustomed to such jargon only. This was his forte. His clientele would feel mightily impressed.

But Sunanda could not take this with equanimity. It was after such long, strenuous efforts that he had at last been able to befriend John, Jean and Jenny. They had got over their earlier aversion and suspicion and begun to look to him as a friend and accomplice in this strange town.

Had they been lured away by Shovan, with his sleek tongue and affected mannerisms ? Not unlikely. Shovan had already proved a keen competitor in the field. At this rate, Sunanda felt anxiously, he would be out of business in no time. Sunanda had almost finalised a deal once with another group of hippies for exchanging their cameras and tape recorders for *hashish* and *dhatura* seeds. At that time, they had run out of their stock of L. S. D. and pethedryne ampules and were feeling totally lost. But till this day, it remained a mystery how Shovan had managed to lure them away. Well, in a business like this, one has to put up with such hazards and cut-throat competition. This time to forestall such repetition, he had enlisted the support of the Yogi Maharaj to lure away those strange, queer, lost, children of the West, who were running away from a world of gadgets, yet with a load of gadgets; in search of a spontaneous life untrammelled by the blind rat race of competition. They rejected a society yet carried its symbols. But why ? Perhaps that was their currency for hashish and drugs. Smoke, man, smoke !

Dozens of curious eyes were darting over Sunanda's well tailored yet hippie-like appearance, with his wide sideburns, wild beard, unkempt long curly hair and *rudraksha* beads and the classic style of smoking *chillum*. Like the Yogi Maharaj who was flicking his fingers in the air while emitting smoke in a peculiar style which impressed his *chelas* immensely. The curiosity of the onlookers soon ebbed away and Sunanda and Yogi Maharaj were left unnoticed. Time was hanging heavy. Yogi Maharaj again puffed out a curl of thick smoke and mumbled, "meditate ! Peace ! Hari Om !"

But Sunanda was in no mood to meditate nor could he find peace. John,

Jean and Jenny had not turned up. He was feeling greatly disturbed.

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Their first encounter took place under unpromising circumstances. The three had just detrained at the sleepy station from an Express train, which reached about four hours behind schedule in the afternoon. That was not the season for tourists, nor was any festival taking place in the temple. The few stray tourists and pilgrims who got down at the station soon melted away. John, Jean and Jenny also got down, loaded with their sleeping bags and bulging haversacks. They wore crumpled jeans. Jenny added some colour with her loose fitting pink blouse. John was carrying a costly camera. Sunanda could trace the outlines of a tape-recorder in the bulging haversack of Jean. A binocular was hanging from the graceful slender neck of Jenny. This was all that was left with them, after they had bartered away most of their possessions in Varanasi for drugs.

What first attracted Sunanda towards them was a nipple of Jenny's breast, peeping out of her blouse. Sunanda, brought up as he was in a repressive society, ogled at it with lecherous glances.

Here was a promising quarry; with tact and shrewdness he could easily relieve them of the camera and the tape recorder. With the craze there was amongst undiscerning townfolk for foreign contraband goods he could sell the camera and the tape recorder with a good margin of profit.

Sunanda's eyes brightened. He tried to ingratiate himself with these strangers and solicited in a professional voice, "Hotel, sir ? Cheap, comfortable, right on the beach ! You get a full view of the sea and the surf, sir !"

Once these people reposed faith in you as the guide, things became easier. Moreover, his hippie-like outfit could always identify him with these hippies from the west, who could take him as one belonging to their fraternity.

But they had learnt from their experience to be circumspect of such sleek touts. Suspicion of strangers is a noticeable trait of their character. The world of these wanderers is hermetically closed; entry for the squares is strictly barred. They do not want busy-bodies to poke their noses into their phantasmogoric world. John ignored him. When Sunanda still persisted he waved him away.

Sunanda did not despair. He knew for certain they would come his way, some day, sooner or later, when they would run out of their stock of drugs. It would not be difficult to trace them in this small sleepy town.

The majestic roar of the sea could be heard on the nearly deserted station platform. The wind was sighing through the needles of the pine groves, like a widow's song.

Jenny danced a step with her nimble feet. "Oh ! the sea is inviting me to take a leap..." she murmured to herself.

John and Jean walked on, unconcerned. Soon Jenny followed them. Her nipples were dancing too. Sunanda ogled at her as one enraptured. That made her feel full of hate for him.

Yet Sunanda did not despair. He would wait for a chance. In life, everything depended upon chance.

That unexpected chance offered itself to him sooner than he had hoped. Two days after, one fine, sunny morning, John, Jean and Jenny were out on

the road. The air was thick with the smell of brine and the pines. The sleepy town was basking in mellow sunshine. They were going nowhere, though the beach was their ultimate destination.

A group of fisherwomen, with baskets of fish poised on their heads, were trudging on the road. Their heavy breasts were half bare. One could look at those half-bare breasts and marvel at their sensuous contour. Yet none of the passers by cared to look at those fabulous breasts. But everyone was curious about Jenny's peeping breast, rotund and soft. Her nipples were peeping from behind the flap of the pink coloured, loose T-Shirt as if in wide-eyed curiosity.

A group of unkempt youths, sitting on a compound wall beside the road, catcalled and blew whistles at Jenny. But these whistles and catcalls no longer bothered her. She had learnt by now to put up with such wild obscenities. She cared little what these onlookers thought or felt about her breasts. She had an inalienable right to dress as she pleased, even to walk naked, if she liked, as a protest against the immaculately dressed squares. She could never understand why one should be compelled to hide nature's glory, waddled with clothes. Was not Nature naked? After all what apparel did the sky wear and what covered the naked sea?

Jenny's attention was attracted by a group of loin-clothed young boys and girls, running out from the fishermen's shanties. They had nothing but pieces of loin cloths around their waists. The morning sun was licking their barebodies in lecherous ecstasy.

"The land of the topless and the bottomless," Jenny murmured to herself. They were free indeed, Nature's children. Body is Nature's gift. Why be ashamed of it?

It may have been the in-thing to be bottomless in manhattan, kent, California or Ohio; but nakedness here, was a fact of life. The nakedness of the west was a rejection of plentitude, a quest for the bare soul. But the nakedness of the east was of the bare body in search of a piece of cloth. Yet, what was wrong about it ?

They wended their way towards the beach, aimlessly. The drooping, morbid pine trees, sighing with endless grief, the restless sea, the soft golden sands, the mellow sun of the autumnal morning, all were very captivating. Jenny suddenly clapped her hands and shouted, "Look, there". She pointed her finger towards a hut in the pine grove on the beach.

Inside a conical hut, covered with palm fronds, an old woman was sitting crouched, with an aluminium pot and a stick placed in front of her. Her body was emaciated and face shrivelled and wrinkled. She looked like the parched earth. A few coins were lying strewn inside the bowl of a pot—charity of the morning-walkers. A begger woman. A lone stunted pine tree was standing guard at the rear of the hut.

John and Jean were also fascinated by the lonely hut on the beach and all the three soon gathered in front of the hut, as though they were looking at some marvel for the first time in their lives. The old woman winked at them with bleary eyes and bleated..."Give me a few coins, God Almighty will bless you, this young lady will be the mother of a hundred children."

"How does it feel sitting crouched inside a hut like this ?" John asked the old woman.

"I had nothing to eat since last night," the woman moaned.

"And what does the drooping pine say ?" enquired Jean.

"Give me a few coins, God will bless you and the lady will bear a hundred children," the old woman bleated in her professional voice.

"You must be feeling grand inside the hut, looking at the horizon... Eh ?" Jenny asked.

"A few coins, please," the old woman persisted. Never had a single beach walker approached her lonely hut with such warmth, much less any foreigner. But these weird-looking foreigners, straight in front of her, had raised high hopes in her. She had a notion these fair-looking foreigners stank with money.

The dialogue was an exercise in absurdity. The old woman could not understand what they said nor could they understand her solicitations for alms.

Suddenly an impulse moved John ; he asked the old woman to come out of her hut, so that they could crawl inside, sit crouched and experience how it felt sitting crouched inside a lonely hut, on the beach, with the wind sighing through the pines and the foamy surf crashing gracefully on the sands.

But the old woman who expected liberal alms could not understand the strange impulse of these foreigners. They even offered to pay her an amount of rent for occupancy of the hut. But little did she understand their bargain nor was she willing to oblige them. When they found she would not come out of the hut, they physically dragged her out and crawled inside.

As Jean, John and Jenny were settling themselves inside the hut, the old woman kicked up a howl outside. Soon a crowd assembled there, drawn by the howls and shrieks of the old woman.

She was howling, "Help, help, I am being robbed by these *firingis*." That was her instant reaction to the strange behaviour of John, Jean and Jenny. Her vicious looking son, a swarthy bullnecked, dwarfish man soon joined the crowd brandishing an oar ominously in the air.

The crowd was gesticulating at these foreigners. But they were enjoying the situation. John was trying to explain that they were merely experiencing how one feels sitting crouched inside a hut on a lonely beach. They were willing even to pay the old lady an agreed amount of rent for their temporary occupation of the hut. But little did the crowd understand John's language, much less his plea.

The old woman's son was about to pounce upon John, Jean and Jenny when Sunanda suddenly appeared from nowhere. In the morning, he had been out on the beach in search of them. He had not lost hope.

In no time he realised the whole position. These dropouts from the affluent west were trying to gain the experience of the poverty of the east, in the raw.

"Let them alone. Let them alone," shouted Sunanda,

"What do you mean?" A man snarled in an angry voice. "Don't you see, they have already pushed the old helpless woman out?"

"They mean no harm", Sunanda said, "they are even prepared to pay rent for occupying the hut."

"Rent? For this wretched hovel?" the old woman's son asked in a sceptical tone.

Here was a godsent opportunity. Sunanda calculated, to be friend them. Without waiting for their response, he fished out a crumpled five-rupee note from his wallet and pushed it into the

wrinkled, shrivelled palms of the old woman.

"Now, here is the rent for your hut. Let them enjoy themselves to their heart's content. Surely you had not seen a five-rupee note in life before. What do you say? Eh?"

Truly, the old woman had never seen a five-rupee note in her life before. She could not believe her eyes. She was afraid to hold the five-rupee note in her hand. This was stranger to her than these foreign strangers. Even her son could not believe the deal. Five rupees for occupying the hut? If that was the price, he would set up huts in a row on the beach, thatched with fronds! The sight of the five-rupee note was tempting indeed! He snatched away the five-rupee note from his mother's hands and dragged her away, lest the foreigners changed their mind. The crowd also melted away, arguing among themselves; five rupees for occupying a hut! The old woman is lucky indeed!

After the crowd left the place, Sunanda smiled at the trio and said, "Now you can enjoy yourselves. They will not disturb you any more. Care for a *tidi*?"

They were grateful to Sunanda indeed. The crowd had become angry and ferocious for no reason. Anything could have happened to them if Sunanda had not suddenly appeared like a good Samaritan. Their earlier misgivings about him were removed.

Jenny wore a smile on her frigid, terror-stricken face and said, "You have been a friend indeed!"

But John was more interested in the *tidi*. "*Tidi*? What's that?"

Smilingly Sunanda brought out from his pocket a packet of brown *biris* stuffed with *ganja* and offered one to each.



They looked at the *tidis* in their hands, pressed them between two fingers, and lighted them with silver cigarette lighters. The smoke tasted wonderful indeed. In fact they had not smoked such stuff in the course of their long wandering in this country.

Jean mumbled appreciatively, exhaling a curl of smoke, "Thanks a lot for everything."

"Now, you can enjoy yourselves," Sunanda said and left the place. He should not overstretch this first rapport. They had already come into his grip. But he must not be hasty.

The idlers had left. The beach was deserted. The sea had suddenly become silent, the crash and flow of the waves had stopped; it was looking like the weird face of an addict after a deep marijuana session.

The next afternoon Sunanda bumped into them in a downtown eating house where they had been for a cup of coffee. Convivial smiles flashed on their faces when he wished them, "Hello" !

Sunanda dragged a chair and squeezed himself round their table. A shrieking Hindi song was rending the quietude of the place.

John slowly and thoughtfully pulled at his unkempt beard and stared at Sunanda with chilled, cold eyes. He, for one, never understood why men like Sunanda should join their fraternity unless it was for peddling drugs and swindling the gullibles. He was a cynic and his suspicion of these Indian hippies was deep-rooted. Was not Jenny raped in Rishikesh by one such hippie whom they had befriended? Had not they been swindled of most of their goods in Varanasi? John would make sure

about Sunanda before having any further dealings with him. The *tidi* of course was fine and he had proved himself a real Samaritan on the beach that morning. But that was not enough.

"What do you want? What are you questing for?" John asked in a slow, drugged voice.

By now Sunanda had mastered the jargon. He lighted a *tidi* and replied, in the voice of a somnambulist, "The blue void. But what are you looking for here? Sunanda flung back streaks of long hair from his forehead and looked at them challengingly.

Mendrex pills had pulled down a blue veil of mist and smoke before Jenny's eyes. Sunanda's reply was interesting indeed ...the blue void. Could the void have any colour? How could the void be blue? Why was it blue at all? The sky of course was blue. Was not the sky a great expanse of the void? But what really were they questing for here, in this goddamn hole of a place?

Jenny mumbled in a weird voice, "The horizon line, where the sky is lost in the sea or the sea is lost in the sky, it is difficult to say. You need not say either. Silence is more eloquent."

"And what about you?" Sunanda asked Jean.

Jean, staring at the smoke-darkened ceiling of the eatery replied in a flat voice, "I have become mute. Help."

A bare bodied boy wearing a blue short placed four cups of steaming coffee in front of them. The coffee had no aroma. Sunanda said, "Now drink coffee and you will regain your voice. I see outstretched desert all around with a solitary date-palm tree standing like a witch."

For some time they sipped coffee silently. Shadows in mourning. There was nothing much to talk about. Sunanda was planning his next move.

Jenny suddenly asked Sunanda, "Could you introduce me to a real Guru?"

"What for?" John asked in a sharp voice. Had they not had enough of Gurus?

Jenny's voice was calm and determined. Emitting curls of smoke, she replied, "Who else could give me a glimpse of the void?"

Here was a heaven-sent opportunity, Sunanda thought. His eyes looked bright. But he must not be hasty.

"My Guru could of course initiate you into the mysteries of the void. But being of wandering disposition it will be difficult to locate him," Sunanda replied. The thought of Yogi Maharaj had struck his mind.

"I thought Gurus lived in posh Ashrams. But why does your Guru wander about?" asked Jenny.

Sunanda replied, "The mystics do not believe in anything fixed, even an abode. Is not man an eternal wanderer? And his body the abode?"

"Grand", the sceptic John commented. Sunanda was impressive indeed. Body, the abode!

After much effort Sunanda had got hold of Yogi Maharaj who had all the trappings of a Guru. He was of course a shrewd palmist and a thought-reader. He could provide answers to one's unasked questions and tell about the past just by reading one's palm. This impressed visitors immensely. His name was Ananda Swamy. He was anxious

too to spread his clientele among foreigners whose pockets he thought were stuffed with dollar bills.

"Why, you could even establish an Ashram with those three foreigners to begin with. Gradually the Ashram will expand. You could even name it Ananda Ashram. Who knows, God-willing, Anand Ashram may not one day blow into international fame, drawing crowds of foreigners in search of peace and meditation with of course dollar notes and contrabands", Sunanda argued.

This was not a bad proposition. The idea had appealed to Yogi Maharaj immensely. He did not need much persuasion to consent to make himself available in that particular corner of the park, that afternoon.

There was a mystic charm in the name of Anand Ashram. Both of them were looking forward to a day when Anand Ashram would make itself famous as an International Centre of Yoga and Meditation. Of late Yoga and Meditation had become the in-things in the west, earning more foreign exchange than the Ministry of Commerce.

. . .

It was well past the appointed time.

Had those foreigners forgotten the appointment? John, Jean and Jenny of course did not believe in routine. Or appointments. All that belonged to the world of the squares. They could not subscribe to that in their own country, could not tolerate that lifeless, dull compulsion. As drop-outs they sought escape from routine and appointments in the timelessness of the east. No surprise. They must have clean forgotten the appointment.

It was also not unlikely that they would not turn up at all. Had they not chosen to be wandering hippies as their personal revolt against a routine-bound existence? Had they not rebelled against the norms of a consumer-oriented society based on sacrifice of human dignity and its higher aspirations?

But it was the exact opposite that had made Sunanda tread their path. His hippie outfit was a mere guise. One could enjoy a lot of liberty and permissiveness as a hippie. One could also escape from the grueling uncertainties of the unemployed. All the while, one could earn a tidy profit, on the side, by peddling drugs and acquiring foreign goods for selling them in the blackmarket. Sunanda, therefore, was as much conscious of routine and appointments as any shop-keeper or bureaucrat. He was losing his patience at their long delay. These damn foreigners. It was like waiting for Godot. The Yogi Maharaj was yawning in boredom.

"Are they coming at all?"

"Who?" asked Yogi Maharaj in a slow drawl.

"I have already told you their names, John, Jean and Jenny. Jenny is a blonde. It had been fixed, they should reach this spot in the afternoon. They have clearly forgotten the appointment!" Sunanda's voice was full of chagrin and impatience. "Can't you say whether they are coming or not?"

"It is all imponderable, you know", Yogi Maharaj replied in an unperturbed voice. He was immersed in the dreams of Anand Ashram bursting upon foreign lands as an International Centre. It mattered to him the least, how long they took to turn up. One had to wait, you know! That was life after all.

"Once they join the Ashram and are initiated they shall have to change their names, you know. You shall have to change your name too. Which means you have discarded your earlier abode, the *purbasrum*," Yogi Maharaj was spinning the webs of his dream.

"Name? That matters the least. What does it matter, by what name you call the rose?" Sunanda replied.

Once upon a time, John, Jean and Jenny had perhaps fixed names, but now they had realised the uselessness, the utter futility of names. What name does a particular tree bear? Or how do you call the sky? By what name is the water addressed except as water? Names belonged to the world of registers, forms and documents. A name is a painful identification, a cross to bear, an useless appendage. Anonymity is better. In anonymity alone can one realise one's innermost self.

After being chased away from Kathmandu for drug peddling and obscene behaviour on the street while on a trip, they had reached Varanasi via Rishikesh.

At Varanasi the Dasaswamedhi ghat, with its burning pyres and acrid smell, had drawn them with an irresistible morbidity. They had been looking forward for long to visiting this cremation ground, since they had read about it in some tourist brochure. So one afternoon, they went to the Dasaswamedhi ghat on the bank of the Ganga. The sun had dipped down the horizon line casting a reddish glow on the waters. Bearded sadhus, naked mendicants, penitent widows with ghostlike aprons, stray bulls and beggars were jostling with one other while pyres were burning in a row. The spectacle of death in the midst of a mad swirl of bursting life had a fascinating charm for them.

They squatted near a pyre, as the flames were licking away the remains of a charred dead body. Another pyre was being lit, with hymns being chanted.

"Look, how peaceful the face looks", Jenny pointed at the body of the shrivelled corpse.

John and Jean brought out their earthen *chillums* to smoke hashish. The pyres had captivated their imagination.

A sudden impulse moved Jenny. She brought out her passport and other documents from her haversack and threw them into the flames of the pyre.

"Now I am free from the bondage of name and identity," Jenny clapped her hands with glee.

"Not a bad idea", John mumbled and consigned his travel documents into the pyre. Jean did not lag behind.

Suddenly they felt their identity had come to an end. The shackles had been broken. They were free. Since then all their painful contacts with Kent, Ohio, Manhattan and California had also come to an end. Nor had a sustaining link with India been established. They were like bats hanging with broken wings in midair.

"Have the clouds an identity?" Jean asked. John appreciated his point and replied, "We are fleeting clouds, across the void", Jenny puffed away.

They had suddenly become free from all the entanglements of country, nation, name, definition, position and post. Free stray children of the west, once known as John, Jean and Jenny were rediscovering life, in the midst of the dirt heaps and cremation grounds of the east, rejecting the senseless vulgar opulence of the west.

Casting away reason and rationalism, they were redeeming themselves from the shackles of cold intellect. They had crossed the frontiers of the mind and were questing for the unknown, rejecting the ever-new discoveries and technological inventions of their background.

They were keen to discover the soul, the enigma of the Self.

In the course of their aimless wanderings, they had reached this town. True, the mendicants of the east were wanderers in quest of Self—an endless odyssey. But their wandering had a goal. They had a comprehension of what they were questing for. But these misguided children of the west took to the roads merely as an escape from a competitive society in which they found themselves misfits. The milieu in which they lived was suffocating. If they were in search of a world beyond the world of quick money, of increasing consumption, sustained and dictated by advertisement copy-writers, Sunanda's basic need was money, just to keep his body and soul together. If John, Jean and Jenny and their tribe were casting off the gadgets of a consumer-oriented society in exchange for a quaint-looking *chillum*, *rudraskha* beads, pills or *ganja*, Sunanda was a slick shop-keeper, who swindled them of these gadgets for selling them at high premiums in the black market. Sunanda was a dropout, in a different sense.

John, Jean and Jenny were free from the bondage of sex, having lived in a permissive milieu of uninhibited sex; but Sunanda having been brought up in a repressive society of taboos, was in a state of sheer madness about the well-formed body of Jenny even though she had long since lost any carvings for sex. She, therefore, since her first encounter

with Sunanda, maintained a calculated distance from his lecherous looks.

John and Jean too had been allergic to Sunanda's sneaky ways in the beginning. The more they came to know him the longer became their distance. Surely they had not bargained for a person like Sunanda. Sunanda had managed at last to get hold of the Yogi Maharaj to keep these foreigners in tow. The Yogi Maharaj on the other hand was also much in need of foreign disciples to project himself in the west as a Guru and of course to earn dollars in the process. *Yogi, pranayam tantra, mysticism and sankirtana* had already become fabulous export-items.

But what had come over John, Jean and Jenny? They were not to be seen.

Yogi Maharaj again counselled meditation to Sunanda for soothing his nerves. But Sunanda was in no mood to meditate. He was expecting John, Jean and Jenny at any moment. Those three melancholic shadows could materialise at any time from behind the ferns like stray wandering clouds in the autumnal sky.

The waiting was tedious. Sunanda started walking impatiently on the lawn. Yogi Maharaj sat in stoic silence like a statue. While Sunanda and Yogi Maharaj were expecting John, Jean and Jenny, they were rolling on a lonely beach, far away, with nothing more on than bikinis. The surf was spraying white foam on their sun-parched bodies. Jean was sprawled on the sand with his head buried like an ostrich. John had left some time back in search of *ganja* of which they had run short.

At a distance some youths clothed in cheap bellbottoms and Jeans and two middle aged men were devouring

with their eyes with an insatiable hunger the naked body of Jenny.

Jenny always felt tired and exhausted before the devouring stares of these voyeurs. Her bare breasts appeared to them as the eighth wonder of the world—even though their temple walls were full of them. Nausea overcame her. Jenny mumbled, "continent of flies." They descend in swarms at the slightest excitement. They do not cherish loneliness much less prize it. They have no respect for one's privacy. Yes, a land of swarming flies.

A little while ago Jean had returned from a trip. He had recovered his senses. He rolled over his body and mourned, "Ah I piercing thirst." Then he looked at the sea and mumbled, "This is a sea of champagne. I will drink the sea of champagne in one gulp like the Indian Rishi Agasti. But is it Agasti or Astabakra?" Jenny was once researching on Indian myths in New York University. Perhaps she could say who had emptied the sea in one gulp. Jean rolled on the sand to get near Jenny.

At a little distance away Jenny was laughing without any reason like the enigmatic nymph. The broken waves were sprinkling fistfuls of the white flowers of foam. She was trying to decorate her breast with the flowers of the surf. But she could not pick up a single one. As the brown thirsty sands were sucking them away, swarms of small crabs were crawling out. They were looking ugly and menacing. She shouted in panic, "Look, look".

Jean looked at the sorrowful sunset with wistful eyes. The fishermen were returning to the shore in their small rafts and catamarans, against the backdrop of the sunset. They were looking like silhouettes of loneliness.



As the evening descended on the sea, the marine road suddenly sprang up with life. With unwarranted haste the cars were honking their horns. Slowly, electric bulbs started blinking in the apartment houses on the beach, like stars in the dark sky.

John had returned at last. He could be seen descending from the road leading to the beach. His wild beard was flowing in the evening breeze like that of a Biblical patriarch. He had folded his pantaloons and had tucked the folds over his knees. He was wearing an embroidered jacket which was his latest acquisition from a roadside vendor. Both John and Jean were marvelling at it.

John announced, "At last I have found it".

"What? Where? Jean and Jenny asked in an orchestrated voice.

John slowly brought out a *chillum* from the breast pocket of his jacket and asked Jenny to light it. The flames of the lighter shivered in nervous shadows over Jenny's body and soon went out. John emitted a thick curl of smoke and replied in a somnambulistic voice, "The Guru. Surely you would like to meet the Guru. The Guru? Yes! Of course!

Then they all rose from the sands and mingled with the crowd of evening strollers, in the alleys and bylanes of the sleepy town.

From a distance in the blinking electric light the temple was looking like a pile of darkness. Near the Lion's Gate of the temple a blind man was squatting, with a small drum-like instrument fitted with cymbals. That evening there were not many pilgrims, nor visitors, nor the crowd of beggars or lepers. They had retired to their hovels. That

old solitary blind man was singing a soulful, devotional song by beating his drum, as though for the benefit of the electric post, the dumb temple walls and those two fearsome lions at the Lion's Gate. In the electric light his lustreless eye balls were looking as pale as the sky. But his face was peaceful like darkness itself.

John, Jean and Jenny sat near the blind man in the dust. Sensing the presence of strangers the blind man stopped singing and asked, "Who are you?"

John, Jean and Jenny remained silent. They were studying his serene face from different angles. If there was a void personified here it was. He could perhaps teach them; the mystery of the void.

The blind man ignored them and resumed his singing.

Suddenly Sunanda descended on them from nowhere and shouted in excitement, "You chaps are here, I have been searching for you all over the town." The very idea of squatting on the dust near this blind man was disgusting to him. This was the place where all the lepers of the town gathered to collect their alms, Sunanda warned them that the blind fellow might be a leper.

Jenny replied, "Our souls are leper-stricken. Don't disturb the sleep of the sky. He is our Guru."

John, Jean and Jenny spread themselves on the dust with their crossed elbows under their heads. They could not understand the song nor the broken strains of music but they could feel it in their innermost being.

John placed an arm on Jenny's naked body and asked in a lost voice, "What do you feel?"

Jenny replied in a soft, whispering tone, "The soul of the sleeping sky."

"And you ?" John asked Jean.

"This is release. Release of self from the bondage of the body."

Jenny suddenly got up with epileptic impatience as one possessed and shouted, "Oh, stop all your chattering. I want a drum like this. You get me one like this, Sunanda."

But Sunanda was not there. He had already left in disappointment. He has realised these foreigners had already slipped away from his clutches.

John, Jean and Jenny relapsed back into deep silence. They were trying to realise and feel the blind man's feelings and his music. Perhaps they could make out something vaguely but could not give expression to it. All the familiar words and expressions had suddenly become mute and meaningless for them.

*(Translated from the original Oriya by the author).*





Khairi was not only a tigress, but a *panthera tigris* which became one of the biggest international tourist attractions in Orissa, until her premature death under tragic circumstances. The uniqueness of Khairi lies in the fact that she was tamed not in captivity but in freedom so much so that she became a family member of Late Mr. Chaudhuri, the Conservator of Forest, who was the Director of Tiger Project. Sri Akhil Mohan Patnaik, one of the leading short story writers and recipient of the prestigious Central Sahitya Akademi Award was intimately associated with the story of Khairi who records the life and death of Khairi with his personal knowledge and perception.—Ed.

## THE LIFE AND DEATH OF KHAIRI

AKHIL MOHAN PATNAIK

Similipal is nearly 3000 Sq. Kilometres of dense forest situated in the district of Mayurbhanj in Orissa. Out of several range of mountains one of the range was once called Simuli mountain. Through words of mouth it has now come to be known as "Similipal". The forest is extremely rich in wild life and is interspersed by human habitation in small hamlets of 'Khadias', the adivasis of the area.

Quite sometime after the area having been declared as one of the

Tiger reserves of our country, one day in August 1974 when the fierce winter of the Similipal forests was just approaching, the then Director of Tiger Project Mr. Saroj Choudhury got a radio message that a tiger cub has been captured by the Khadias at a distance of 30 to 40 Kms. from Jashipur, his camping place.

Mr. Choudhury lost no time to inform his subordinates that the tiger cub be despatched to him to Jashipur in a jeep as quickly as possible. Some-

time after it was seen that a jeep was speeding towards the Jashipur bungalow with the precious cub in it. Mr. Choudhury unfastened the back flap of the jeep only to find a cub strongly secured by ropes, bundled up inside the jeep. As Mr. Choudhury approached it she frowned with a snarl and open claws. Mr. Choudhury coaxed her for quite sometime to gain her confidence and gradually unfastened her. She was given some milk but she would not touch it. Again some time later when she could be forced some milk was forced through cotton wool and she sobered down a bit and it was apparent that she was gaining more and more confidence.

At that point of time Khairi was 88 Cms long measured from the tip of her nose to the end of her tail and she weighed 6 Kgs. 200 gms. A continuous graph of the day to day growth of the cub was maintained and by back working on the said graph it could be reasonably ascertained that the birth date of Khairi could be 5th August 1974.

Most likely Khairi was the only child of her mother because Khairi was quite healthy and had put on very good weight for her age. This was latter corroborated by the Khadias. Their story was that a group of six or seven of them were going inside the forest to gather fire wood. Suddenly they came across a huge big tigress, within a very short range and the tigress having seen them quietly walked side ways for a short distance. Simultaneously they could see a small cub that is Khairi receding hastily into a cave blocked by a small stone. And one of them took courage to throw his napkin on the cub and capture it.

It is no easy feat for any body to capture a tiger cub specially when the

mother is lurking in the vicinity. Obviously Khairi's mother being suddenly confronted with a host of persons had adopted the broken wing tactic the instinctive tactic adopted in wild life for self preservation. The mother thought that she being the larger animal would attract the attention of the people while the cub will get a chance to recede into the cave. When a snake creeps up a tree to attack a bird's nest having fledglings the mother bird abandons the nest and lands on the ground. Being a larger mass it provokes higher stimulus from the snake and the snake travels down and approaches the mother bird. Then the mother bird moves a small distance as thought it is not able to fly because of its broken wings. The snake pursues the bird from one short distance to another short distance and after the snake is lured to a considerable distance the mother bird takes a straight long flight to its nest and by then the snake has forgotten about the fledglings, its first target. This 'broken wing' tactics is followed in many species for self preservation.

Be it as it may, Khairi grew up under the warm care and affection of Mr. Choudhury and his cousin Nihar Devi. Soon after an examination of the stool of Khairi it was found that it was dangerously affected by round worms and had she not been brought under human care she probably might not have survived. This is a phenomenon responsible for vast child mortality in wild life. Adults can expel the round worm by the bones and the roughage they take in by eating carcass, but a child only dependant on mother's milk if affected by round worms may not survive, the hazard.

Thereafter, Khairi started to make her maiden journey along with Mr. Choudhury and Nihar on jeep. In the



jeep she would be playful like a kitten. To feed the cub Mr. Choudhury started shooting birds when it come handy and hide it at some place to save the meat for the future meal of Khairi. But through her powerful sense of smell she would discover the dead bird at any cost and then come and dance before her foster parents to show off, with the bird still in her mouth.

Very soon she made good friend of Blackie, Mr. Choudhury's dog. Very often Khairi would be seen frolicking with Blackie in the open lawn, but Blackie though inferior in strength would set the law for Khairi. Once Blackie gives a growl, Khairi will not dare have fun with it. Atleast till Blackie was dead Khairi always respected his seniority. Khairi had the knack to some how find out the piece of meat hidden for her, take it in the mouth and run into the bushes where after having eaten some portion of it she will carefully store the booty in a bush to exactly find it out again when she would need it. Sometime by way of grace she will spare a chunk for Blackie and Blackie would be in fact waiting for it. Khairi indeed had a strong sense of smell. The previous reading about a tiger's sense of smell vis-a-vis other senses had been that the tiger's sense of smell was rather poor. But now it was found out that the sense of smell of a tiger was much more stronger than its sense of sight and hearing taken together

When Khairi grew up bird meat was hardly sufficient for her. So according to convenience she was given a trial on mutton, beef, pork and the meat of the Langur but Khairi's preferences in order of merit was Langur meat, pork, mutton and beef

Soon Khairi was growing up to a full adult size, and was playful all the same. She little understood, how risky



Late Saroj Chaudhury, Director of Project Tiger. Simlipal who adopted Khairi.

could be her fickle playfulness to the human beings. So Khairi's foster parents constantly kept on teaching her not to use her teeth or claws during such playful overtures. Surprisingly she learnt, learnt it for good, but not until she was given a couple of good beatings. But till she learnt, their foster parents had hundreds of scratches all over their bodies and had been poorer by dozens of sarees and shirts.

All rooms in the bungalow were open for Khairi. How it could otherwise be? After all Khairi was the foster daughter of Mr. Choudhury and Nihar Devi. Khairi had the choice either to sleep on the bed with her father or with her mother, but whosoever she chooses to sleep with she will hold them in a tight grasp and then sleep and snore totally secured. Once accidentally she came face to



face to the dressing room mirror, surprised she gave a small growl, hesitated for a while and looked behind the mirror. Once convinced that there wasn't another tiger behind the mirror, she never gave a second thought and during her three years' stay in the bungalow she has never been deceived for once by her image in the mirror. She learnt for once the trick of the mirror. Mr. Choudhury had been constantly using a tape recorder to record her affectionate calls, her growls and sounds denoting her sharp angry refusals. Once the tape recorder was played back to her and as the recorder played on Khairi stood there immobile and stupefied for nearly five to six minutes. She is a very, very intelligent animal. She could realise that her sense of smell, sight and hearing all taken together do not evidence the presence of another tiger within a radius of one kilometer, and hence this must be some device to fox her. She gave a growl of dissatisfaction and leisurely walked away from the tape recorded to her fixed beddings in the open area, now of course secured by chainlinks on all the four sides. Khairi has grown up, mature, and strong enough to kill animals, whether she would kill or not under captive conditions is anybody's guess. But prudence dictated Mr. Choudhury to chainlink the entire area of about 6 acres, not because he was apprehensive that Khairi would abscond, but entry of goats, sheep and cattle into the premises had to be prevented.

Very often Khairi would accompany Mr. Choudhury in the jeep during his tours inside Similipal area. She has been taken to 'Jenabil', 'Chahala', 'Naana', 'Gudgudia' and to almost all the places where Mr. Choudhury used to camp. On arrival at every new camp she would go on exploring the area in minute details and thereafter start

marking by urination at different places. Marking by urination is an innate feline habit, by which the marker can identify her own jurisdiction and some other tiger can also know that he or she is getting into an alien jurisdiction, already occupied. However after a thorough scrutiny she would quietly settle down as though she belonged to the place always. If there is a 'Nala' nearby or a natural spring she would swiftly get into it and enjoy a good bath and swim. It would need a lot of coaxing to bring her out of water.

One evening to Mr. Choudhury's great dismay Khairi just vanished from Chahala camp and a 24-hour long hectic search was of no value. Mr. Choudhury was extremely apprehensive that she could be, being accustomed to human beings and tame, killed any moment by a tribal's poisoned arrow. Nearly 36 hours later news reached Mr. Choudhury that Khairi has been sighted by some Govt. officials going in jeep at a distance of 24 kms. from the camp. As disclosed by the Govt. officials, on sighting a tiger they stopped their jeep and thereafter Khairi started moving towards the jeep nonchalantly. All of them were in panic. But Khairi coolly rode up to the front seat of the jeep and sniffed different places over and over again. Suddenly it dawned upon them that the non-violent tiger accustomed to a jeep vehicle could be no one else excepting Khairi. Promptly news was sent. Mr. Choudhury and Nihar reached the place with some food and brought back Khairi with them. They sent a small prayer to God that nothing untoward had happened to Khairi, during her absence for a long span of 36 hrs. Obviously Khairi who went out on the trail on a prey animal lost her way while coming back to the camp. But Khairi ate hungrily which proved that she had not succeeded to have a kill.

The second escapade of Khairi was some times in May, 1976 at four 'O'-clock in the afternoon. By this time she was already 22 months old, and was weighing 170 kgs. This time she was missing for a period of 6 long days and to locate her it was a marathon chase by Mr. Choudhury, Nihar and scores of other forest officers. Basing on reports from villagers she was located several times during the search, she was coaxed to come back to the camp but she would not. Sometimes she would vocalise her refusal by a growl and at other times she would sneak away quietly from amidst the crowd. It was a hide and seek game over several hills and dales nearly five days round the clock. It could be fun for the big cat but towards the end the entire team had tired out. At one point she showed herself to the team voluntarily and later she was coaxed into a jeep and brought back to Jashipur camp.

This was her maiden peak Oestrus period. There was news that a huge big male tiger has been sighted within a distance of 7 to 8 kms from the camp. Tracking along the pug marks along the 'Chahala Nala' and the latest spoor the team conformed their suspicion that Khairi had been drawn towards the tiger by only her sense of smell. There had been no vocalisation.

Later, in fact the tiger was seen by a forest guard lurking under the cover of bushes in the "Kaira Kacha" hill and when the tiger disinterestedly turned round and walked away there was no mistaking that it was a big male. On a further scanning of the pug marks again confirmed that it was a male. A few kills by the same tiger were also located.

It was a great disappointment for Mr. Choudhury. Had he not taken away Khairi all the way to Jashipur, Khari

could have mated with that tiger in her first oestrus and she could have reproduced some real healthy, lovely cubs. For Mr. Choudhury it would have been a dream come true.

Describing the entire incident Mr. Choudhury had written a letter to this author where he said that he hoped to take her to that area again during the next winter. But Mr. Choudhury little knew that the next winter would neither come for Khairi nor for him.

Khairi died in March 28, 1981 a tragic death after six and half eventful years in which she revealed much truth about her tribe, removed misconcepts, cleared confusions and more than all these she proved how loving a tiger's heart could be.

On the evening of 24th March Khairi was suddenly found sulking und refusing food and water. All and sundry became concerned about it and started coaxing her to eat, but neither threat nor coaxing could make her eat. On the 25th when water was served to her she angrily bit the pot and made several holes in it. She repeated, this on a brass bowl again. Then it was suspected that she could be suffering from rabies. Then a very minor incident that happened way back on 20th February, 1981 was brought to light. A broken-hearted Mr. Choudhury regretted that he had to be absent on that eventful day and this minor incident was never told to him. On 20th February, 1981 a very small stray dog of the size of a puppy sneaked in through the chain-link and Khairi would not tolerate any intruders. Khairi bit the dog by its neck and the puppy was instantly dead. This is not the first time that Khairi killed a dog. In fact this was the third time. But unlike previous times, the dog's brain was not sent to the Laboratory to find out for rabies infection.

This incident was enough to convince Mr. Choudhury that Khairi has been infected with rabies virus. Khairi soon revealed further symptoms. She started biting needlessly at a motor tyre. She attacked and injured a forest guard. She was seen immobilised and locked inside an enclosure. S. O. S. message was sent abroad for anti-rabies vaccine and there was an immediate response, for Khairi by this time had already acquired an international fame. Vaccine was rushed by air but alas ! It was too late. Khairi breathed her last on 28th March, 1981. She was given a decent burial. During this period though

she was being fondled, caressed by the foster parents, even in her mad fury she did not even as much scratch any of the parents.

This is the first time that a tiger has been tamed that too in the open. Elsa was a lioness and that is a different story. During these six years hosts of datas, graphs have been recorded to bear proof of feline behaviour. Lots of photographs and movies have been taken on Khairi and you can sit back and watch the movies today. Thus ended the saga of Khairi. As though it were poetic justice Mr. Choudhury died on 4th May, 1982 of cardiac arrest.



Tourism, so far, has been identified with Five Star culture and sightseeing. But the cultural tourism is a new concept which of late is gaining respectability, among the tourists, both domestic and international. Through tourism one can imbibe not only the colour and variety of the people and the land but also its cultural milieu and traditions. The author in this paper, discusses the potentialities of cultural tourism in Orissa, which we hope will be of much interest to the tourists intending to visit Orissa, particularly when there is big spurt in the tourist traffic to Orissa.

—Ed.

## VISTAS OF CULTURAL TOURISM IN ORISSA

A. N. TIWARI

Right from the dim days of history Orissa, popularly known as ancient Kalinga, had its distinct geographical, political and cultural entity. The land was hallowed by the presence of Lord Jagannath at Puri constantly washed by blue waters of the eastern seas. In course of time the cultural heritage of Orissa rightly and inexorably stemmed from the divine grace of Lord Jagannath. The art, architecture, poetry, painting and literature were deeply influenced by the cult of Jagannath, so far so that the Lord himself is said to have led the army of Gajapati King of Puri to victory in his righteous battle against Kanchi.

This land of a glittering cultural past has today come to stay as the destination of international and domestic tourism. The golden triangle embracing Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark has rightly acquired a place of distinction in the tourist world. The temples of breathtaking architectural splendour dotting the golden triangle defy human comprehension. Konark often described as the gem of Orissan art fills the visitors with an inexplicable admiration for Oriya architects who literally wore their

artistic pattern in stone. The present day Engineers do not tire marvelling at the unrusted iron beams lying within the precincts of Konark temple. The biggest iron beam of Konark is said to be 35 ft. long with a girth of 36" as against the famous Delhi pillar which is only 25 ft. above the ground with a girth of 16". In terms of weight, the Delhi pillar weighs 18 tonnes as against the Konark beam which weighs 90 tonnes.

As an ancient maritime nation, Oriyas had planted an indelible cultural impression on the walls of the temples in Indonesia and other south-east Indian countries. This is borne out from the marked architectural similarity between the art and architecture of Indonesian and Orissan temples. Presentation of a Ziraffe to the King of Orissa sculpted on the walls of Konark is a living testimony of the maritime contacts of ancient Orissa. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the 227 ft. high temple of Konark dedicated to Sun God, is an engineering marvel with hardly any parallels in the world.

Bhubaneswar, the Capital City of Orissa, is better known as the cathedral city of India. Every speck of the landscape seems to be covered with temples of breath-taking artistic patterns. It has been well said that such an artistic tradition in Orissa perhaps sprang from the very soul of the nation and was not transplanted from outside. While the central theme of Orissan temples was "SHIKHARA" type symbolising the human body with God within, the ancient builders attempted a variety of structural experiments. PARSURAMESWAR, one of the earliest forms of ancient temples, resembles a Christian Church with a long hall whereas "BOITAL DEULA" has been built in imitation of a sea-going vessel. The artistic RAJARANI temple displays the pattern of a medieval cathedral and MUKTESWAR with its embroidered stone arch, one of its kind in Orissa, is perhaps the most proportionately built temple complexes. The temple of LINGARAJ, the presiding deity of Bhubaneswar, is a grand example of Orissan architecture and sculpture, evenly proportioned with a wealth of exquisite carvings which could rightly excite the envy of the goldsmiths and jewellers. On the outskirts stand the second century caves of Khandagiri and Udayagiri marking the unending galaxy of art and architecture that continued unabated till the 13th century A.D. In this span of time the Orissan artisans have written the national epic in stone which has won the admiration of the world.

Puri, known as the "Vishnu Khetra", is the seat of Lord Jagannath. It had a great binding effect on the country. The sea beach at Puri is said to be one of the finest in the world. Thanks to the efforts of Government, Konark and Puri, two important international destinations of tourism, are now linked by a marine drive meandering by the shore of the sea and the lush green countryside of

Orissa. It has reduced the distance from 84 KM to 34 KM. There are plans to carve out a Black Buck Sanctuary, Camping Sites and a Replica of Konark on this stretch of marine drive.

While recounting the splendours of Orissa's cultural tourism, mention may be made of the numerous Buddhist and Jain monuments that herald the glory of ancient Orissa and speak volumes of the magnificent amalgam of various streams of religions in the country, which enriched the cultural canvas. Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri, an 8th century buddistic monument, is embellished by some of the most artistic images of Buddha. These along with the stone inscriptions of Ashoka at Dhauili could be presented as a package destination in the buddhist world.

Nature has generously endowed Orissa with its bounties. The 1100 sq. KM Chilka Lake, the biggest water spreads in the country, was a perennial inspiration for the poets, writers and lovers of art. This ancient water route of Orissa is an important destination for the tourists who come to see its magnificent bird sanctuary and relax in its placid waters surrounded by emerald hills. A cluster of cottages has come up with promising facilities of skiing and water sports.

Yet another fascinating aspect of Orissa's culture is its classical dance "ODISSI" which has since acquired national recognition. Dr. Charles Fabri hails "ODISSI" as one of the most perfect systems of Indian classical dance forms surviving. In his words, Odissi is a more pristine, a more completely preserved ancient dance form and is nearer to the ancient Indian classic temple dancing. How true and prophetic was Dr. Fabri when he said that discovery of Odissi was a great event in recovering a lost heritage. Besides Odissi, the colourful folk dances



of Orissa like Chhow, Ghumura, Danda, Dalkhai and a large range of tribal dances have arrested the attention of the world audience.

It is only during the last two and half years that the great tourist potential of Orissa could be adequately projected at the national and international spheres. Our Chief Minister, Sri Janaki Ballav Patnaik, the architect of tourism in Orissa, has rightly summed up the tourist attractions as "Cultural Tourism, Beach and Lake Tourism, Wild life Tourism and Hill Tourism". There has been a big spurt in the tourist traffic to Orissa. The Boeing link with Delhi and the daily Boeing service linking Calcutta, Bhubaneswar and Hydera-

bad have facilitated the mobility of tourists. Orissa is the only State in the country which has declared Hotel as an industry, thus enabling it to the various liberal incentives under the Industrial Policy Resolution. This has stimulated the growth of infrastructure and over 500 luxury hotel rooms are expected to be ready by the end of 1983.

How apt was the saying of a visiting International Travel Writer that the cultural heritage of Orissa undoubtedly is one of the major attractions for tourists the world over and given the facilities of infrastructure, sky was the limit for the growth of Orissa's tourism. Orissa has at last reached the "Take Off" stage in tourism.



**John Newbery (1713-67) was the first publisher to appreciate fully the market for children's books, which could attract both children and their parents. Though such children's literature has yet to develop in Oriya | children's literature is gradually attaining wide popularity. Dr. G. C. Misra, Professor of Oriya, Sambalpur University in this article discusses the evolution and growth of children's literature in Oriya.—Ed.**

## CHILDREN'S LITERATURE IN ORIYA

GOPAL CH. MISHRA

The requirement of a child for his mental development, justifies the production of a type of literature befitting their power of understanding or their ability to comprehend, out of this necessity has grown the children's literature. The relevance of such a type of literature is based on (i) the sympathetic understanding of the child's mind, (ii) grasp of his aptitude, (iii) and awareness of language used and understood by a child, (iv) assessment of his psychology, (v) a feeling of kinship.

The child's mind requires to be informed and while adequately their imaginative, spiritual and social needs must be kept in view. Most children are averse to learning for its own sake. Children will not believe what the adults teach and say but they readily imitate what adults do. So defining the scope and aim of children's literature it has been felt that the society ought to begin with the education of her rather than the chicken. It cannot be done by writing little interesting stories packed with morals alone.

In tracing the origin of juvenile literature in Oriya it has been indicated in Nana baya Geeta (Nursery Rhymes), children's Oral Songs, Oral Stories, Play songs, riddles, proverbs, and festival songs. A Nursery Rhyme is the

song to small children by mothers. Such songs invariably exist in all literature. The literary value of those Nursery Rhymes is no less. While it creates soothing effects in the mind of the child it kindles his imaginations as well. Nursery Rhymes in Oriya are classified as songs sung at the time of swinging, songs sung at the time of putting some black power on the forehead of the child, songs sung at the time of bathing the child, at the time of feeding the baby, at the time of dancing the baby, at the time of crying, the baby and at the time of helping the baby to sleep and to awake from sleep. Such nursery rhymes are prevalent through out Orissa. Their emotional appeal being common, there appears some differences in their language and composition. A nursery rhyme prevalent in Kalahandi district may be slightly different from that of Sambalpur and Cuttack. The nursery rhymes in Oriya are full of pleasant variations although they are held together by a common purpose. The theme of these Nursery Rhymes are usually taken from the natural objects like moon, sparrow, frog, cow, fish, cat, etc. These objects when used in Nursery Rhymes are given social status such as :

(Kerandi Machar Kati  
Mo prem Sundar Baha Hai Jiha re  
Chandra Surya Bar Jatri)

Through image and metaphor the child is acquainted with so many objects of nature. He is associated with moon as his uncle and the cloud as uncle's home. The aspect of music language and metre is also very vital for its full understanding. Sometimes absurd description occurs in Nursery Rhymes such as :

1. Jhulare Hati Jhul  
Ba Pani Khai Phul
2. Kadali Gachar Gaba  
Kadali Gachati Mala  
Mote Jata Kalabala Kala.

The impact of nursery rhymes on children's literature written in the modern period is immense. The Nursery Rhyme is the spiritual and emotional link between the child and the mother. While mother is the performer of Nursery Rhyme the child himself is the performer of child's songs. The child's songs are classified such as songs of rainy season. Songs of humour and satire, songs at the time of taking some vows, songs during leisure hours and songs sung at the time of reading lessons. The rain and the clouds of nature have exerted wonderful influence on the children's mind in all ages everywhere in the world. The sound of dark cloud in the horizon make the child dance and from his lips pour out the immortal line like :

1. Bengul Benguli Pani De  
Nai Pokhari Bhasai De
2. Megha Ta Aila  
Kalahandi Lo  
Hid-Dian Kala Pani  
Bahu Dap Char Jadmalarelo  
Kiajiba Taku Ani. !

Similarly the children sing songs aiming at the different birds of the nature such as :

Udigale Gendalia  
Jhadi Dele Pakhi  
Dukhinani Kanduchi  
Kalebar Dekhi.

Like Oral child's song, Oral child's stories are also available and held in great popularity in Orissa. These stories are told by Grandmothers and Grandfathers for their imaginative development of the children. These stories characterised by some peculiar style are phenomena such as 'Kathani' preceding and succeeding main body of the story such as :

"Katha Tie Kahun  
Katha Tie Kahun  
Ki Katha  
Benga Katha  
Ki Benga  
Thura Benga  
Ki Thura  
Brahman Mara" ( etc. ).

These are very interesting and it demands memory power and power for proper identification of a child. Proverbs are existence in Oriya literature from time immemorial. It is an adage or an authentic saying. It is there both in prose and poetry. It is created out of history, contemporary events and legends and rural customs, etc. Sometimes epic models have also come into the fold of the proverbs. Therefore proverbs have taken 'Puranic' Historical and social, political and educational in character. Some examples of such proverbs are given :

1. Pahili Bajire Bhim Hare (Bhim is vanquished in the beginning)
2. Chanda Dharmasoka Hela (Cruel Ashok turned into kind-hearted)
3. Bhala Ramchandi Bhalare  
Kala Pahadaku Duare Basai  
Bhala Pani Ani Galare.

Such Proverbs or it decade from have substantially enriched the children's literature in Oriya. Festival songs have played an important role in shaping the children's literature and folk literature in Orissa. These songs and

stories are used at the time of observing fast for religious and social purposes.

Further, the influence spate of Sanskrit classical stories such as Pancha Tantra, Ratha Sarita Sagar, Hitopadesha, Bruhat Katha, Shuka Saptati is there. The educational system in ancient Orissa and literary pieces studied there such as 'Keshaba Koili' (Markanda Das), 'Kanta Koili' (Balaram Das) Artha Koili (Jagannath Das), 'Baramasi Koili' (Shankar Das) 'Gyanodaya Koili' (Nathia) have been adopted as Juvenile literature. Koili is a type of literary composition in ancient Oriya in which the mother expresses herself to her loving child in so much tender delicate language. The earlier of such composition 'Keshab Koili' is based on the love between Jashoda and her darling son Shree Krishna. These lines are composed in analphabetic order and such composition were memorised by the children of Orissa in those days when printed books and a well defined system of education did not develop. Similarly some literary work of incident authors like 'Gopi Bhasa' (Danai Das) 'Bhagabata' (Jagannath Das) 'Angada Padi' Rasakrida were studied by the school going children in those days. The only purpose of this study was to acquaint the child with the events of Mahabharata and Bhagabata or its great personality Like Koili 'Chautisha' is peculiar type of composition in medieval Oriya Literature which were usually given to the requirements. 'Artatran Chautisha' are some of the composition which are very popular with the children. Similarly 'Boli' (Sayings) also formed a part of children's literature in Oriya has actually derived its inspiration devotional songs like 'Stuti', 'Bhajan' and 'Janana' formed a part of students vernacular syllabus.

Against such historical background and materials the conception of a modern type of literature for children gradually developed and this was mainly due to the arrival and propagation of the Christian Missionaries in Orissa in the first quarter of the 19th Century. The establishment of an English Charity School, at Cuttack in 1822, leading towards the multiplication of schools going children, establishment of printing press in Orissa (1837) combined to create an environment in which the demand of children for a particular type of literature befitting their psychology and understanding was acknowledged. The translation of Bible under the guidance of William Carry and subsequent production of text books, such as on grammar, Arithmetic, History, Science, etc., by erstwhile Missionaries such as Rev. Aromos Sutton, Rev. Lacy, Rev. Edward Marshman attracted the local scholars and educationists to write suitable books for children. The difference between a literary work for children and literary work for elders was felt by all. That is how the foundation of the present day children's literature in Oriya was laid down. The text books for different grades of students to be used in classes was certainly responsible in creating conditions in which the authors considered it their duties to be conscious duction of English education is certainly an important event in Orissa so far as the literary renaissance is concerned. In Orissa committee was appointed for the production of suitable books for children towards 1869. The members of the committee were Jagamohan Ray. The modern children's literature in Oriya passed through different systems, such as translation, adoption and original writings. Many books were translated from English, Bengali and Sanskrit to remove the need of text books in Oriya.

Some of the local writers like, Kepileswar Bidya Bhusan, (Barna Sikshya) Ghanshyam Mishra (Barna Parichaya) Govinda Chandra Sharma (Barna Bodhak) Pyarimohan Sen (Sishu Patha), Prabhakara Chudamani (Padya Mala Upadesh Manhary) took up their pens in the cause of producing suitable books for school going children. Even Fakir Mohan Senapati, Radhanath Ray and Madhusudan Rao with a view to improve the quality of text books in Oriya took upon themselves this urgent task with great success. This was the early phase in the modern period of children's literature revolutionised in subsequent years. So the newly developed features in producing a special type of creative literature for children are attributed beyond doubt to the spread of English education and to the awareness of the psychological needs of the children, in the changed social and cultural conditions of our country. The demand for a new story for a new plot with variety, clarity and unity in effect, absurdity and meaninglessness, the characters was realised by the writers of children's literature. The presentation of a mere story with sequence of events was no longer appreciated. It was to be sprinkled with it, humour, absurdity and other features, which usually attracted the retained but it was presented to the children's in an extraordinary and interesting manner so that the children rid of the horrors of the text books and were inclined to read general story books and verse books more and more. Against this background the foundation of present day years of the present children's literature in Oriya was laid down in the early years of the present century and the pioneers are Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912), Fakir Mohan Senapati (1843-1919) poetry and prose writer in Oriya is the first author to introduce in Oriya literature

for the first time a distinct type of literature psychologically suitable for both education and entertainment of school going children. Gopal Chandra Praharaja (1874-1946), Nanda Kishore Bala (1875-1928) and many others. Sri Madhusudan Rao an outstanding poetry and prose writer in Oriya is the first author to introduce in Oriya literature for the first time a distinct type of literature psychologically suitable for both education and entertainment of school going children. Sri Rao who was teacher in the education department and subsequently promoted to the rank of Inspector of Schools was well-versed with the psychology of school going children and he while primarily concerned with the object of writing suitable text books to be used in increasing number of schools in Oriya than was well aware of the moral requirement of the children through literature. The literary creations of Madhusudan Rao for children fall into two phases—(a) Text books, prose & poetry with a moral touch, (b) Literary composition for children other than text books.

Madhusudan was responsible for bringing in varieties in poems and verse for children. Particularly he emphasised patriotism, nationalism, moral virtues, and a deep passion for all that is good in life, sympathy for animals and love for noble aspects of life. His addresses, truth served as modern verses both to the juvenile readers and to the subsequent writers of children's literature. During his 35 (1873-1908) years of service in education department Madhusudan Rao took it upon himself as his sacred duty to revolutionise spiritually the children of his country. He considered the child as a divine gift and desired sincerely that the child should bear the traces of his spiritual and divine impression throughout his life. He ex-



horted the children that the divine life must be usefully applied to interpret the real divine message and the divine nature of the child. In fact Madhusudan's own life as judged from his various writings for children appears to be surrounded in philosophy. Beginning from his primer of learning Oriya 'Barna Bodha' (1895) the poet is credited with the authorship of a number of distinct works Sahitya Kusum, Balbodha, Sahitya Prasanga, Sahitya Taranga. In depicting the different scenes and objects of nature such as the morning different seasonal presence in them whether animate or inanimate. He reminds the child that God, the Almighty is present in every object and according to him the child is the symbol of divine, purity such lines may be quoted here :

"Jaha Mun Karai  
Jaha Mun Kahai  
Jaha Mun Chintai Mane  
Jagatar Karta  
Param Iswar  
Januchanti Pratikshyne".

(What ever I do  
What ever I say  
What ever I think in mind  
The Almighty Creator of the world  
Knoweth every moment)

with such spiritual passion, thoughts and feelings of the children it may be observed that the vast body of literature of Madhusudan is identified with the mission of spiritual perfection of the whole humanity. The description of natural beauty in rural environment aims at establishing in the mind of a child the spiritual joy and the divine bliss that the nature is capable of unfolding before the innocent children Madhusudan created a new era in the area of children's literature in Oriya with puritanic view of life. Like Wordsworth or Mathew Arnold, Madhusudan regarded children's literature as serious, disciplined, restraint, economical in

words, unsentimental and expressive of the noble passion of life which is the ambition of a dedicated society. His verses reflect the contract between the child of the dust and a child of the material world. It appears the poet sees in the millions of children the loneliness of the soul that establishes that region of faith in humanity. His patriotic poems describing the Himalayan, the Ganges and the extraordinary beauties of Utkal stir the imagination of a child. The integrity, the vision, the wisdom and energy has been attributed to the universal child in his poems.

Sri Radhanath Ray's contribution to the children's literature and that of Fakir Mohan Senapati are confined to text books writing by them to remove the long felt need of suitable text books in Oriya. Their works speak of their association with school going children as teachers and also as educational trustees in those days. In writing text books they have sometimes strayed beyond the historical and geographical limits and have adequately and imaginatively drawn upon such objects of nature as the animals and the birds and their ways and behaviour which are liked by children most. The few stories written by Fakir Mohan Senapati are interwoven with the amusing and interesting events from animal life such as Donkey, God, Cuckoo, Mouse, Parrot, Cat, etc. Authors like Mrutyunjaya Rath and Govind Rath practised their pen in writings for children. It was through text books that the children's literature in oriya acquired a well developed writing form and shape in the closing years of 19th century. During these years collection of juvenile poems such as 'Janha Mamu' was published by Sri Sudhala Deva the then ruling chief of Bamra (its 2nd edition being published in 1903 from Jagannath Ballava Press, Bamra). The number of contributors in this anthology being twelve and they

are Sudhal Deva, Tikayat Babu, Satchidannand, Tribhubana Deva, Jalandhara Deva, Pandit Madhusudan Mishra, Kashinatha, Rajguru Biswanath Mahapatra, Bidyabhusana, Somenath Jyotishalankara, Durjodhan Naik. The moon has exercised in abiding influence on the minds of children and mothers in all ages, Juvenile literature in Oriya is full of references to moon and its amazing magical beauty. Even Fakir Mohan's poem on 'Janha Mamu' is liked by children. The poems contained in this anthology are interesting so far it depicts child's mind, and its reactions and responses in various moods. These poems on moon can be said to be pattern of poems in Oriya, so that towards 1932 Sri Balakrushna Kar (1886 to 1957) conceived to published one monthly Magazine for children and the title of the magazine was 'Janha Mamu'.

Next Sri Gopal Chandra Praharaj (1874 to 1946) acclaimed in Oriya literature is the outstanding prose writer and the compiler of Oriya Lexicon named 'Purna Chandra Bhashakosha' running into thousands of pages and so many volumes felt also the need of writing for children. He collected the Oriya folk tales for the reading of the children in the name of 'Utkal Kahani' and 'Katha Lahari' mark the effort in Oriya literature to write stories in easy and simple language for children in Oriya. His contributions to children's literature extends beyond stories and fables and he composed a number of poems for children, such as the anthology 'Dho Re Baya Dho'. In writing verses for children Sri Praharaj adopted Folk literature as the basis and inspiration. His collection of proverbs and saying in Oriya greatly enabled him in that way.

"Osta Patar Pania  
Choudhary Jhia Kania  
Santara Pua Bara  
Athara Khandi Baidabaje  
Dhanger Dhanger

These examples show the influence of oral Folklore on the writings of Gopal Chandra Praharaj. The simplicity, the playfulness, the wonder world of children have been well drawn by Sri Praharaj.

The most important author of children's literature in Oriya in the first quarter of the present century Sri Nanda Kishore Bala, popularly known as 'Palli Kabi' in fact by his manifold lyrics based on the pattern of folklore and on his own imaginations. Sri Nanda Kishore Bala elevated and sufficiently developed the area of Juvenile literature in Oriya. Mostly rooted in the several environment his poems contained in his anthology. 'Nana Baya Geeta' (Oriya, Lullaby songs in parts) breathe an atmosphere in which the simple and play loving children are involved more and more with their playmates like the domestic cats, cows, dogs, crows, parrots, etc. The world of childhood as imagined by the poet in his varying poems such as 'Bilua Bhai', 'Bilai Nani', 'Benguli Nani', 'Barsha Geeta', 'Para Jodika', 'Damara Kau', 'Ho Re Baya Ho', 'Nida Mausi', 'Baya Chadhei' have greater relevance to it child's life and Psychology. His composition discovered the potentialities of a positive pattern of literature for the children and the medium of expression was rural and colloquial language. The pigeon, the crow, the jackal have been identified with the child is playing in the midst of dust without any interference. Even the language used by the poet is faithful to language and diction of child's community. His poems like 'Palli Chitra', 'Prabhat Sangeeta', 'Basanta Kokila', 'Nirjharini' are not so near to children's literature. The rains have occupied an important place in his Juvenile poems, so also the ever inviting moon and the jackal child. The advent of rain, the joy and of the jackal and play of frogs at this hour of intensity characterise most of his poem.

Through rural indebtedness Sri Nanda Kishore Bala has produced Juvenile literature with great success and could give it a new direction. The life of a child has been so interestingly interwoven with the animal life so that it becomes unavoidable for a child to read his poems. This is foundation on which the subsequent writers in Oriya the literature took up writing for children seriously and sincerely. They include Sri Chintamani Mohanty (1876-1943) Nilakantha Dash (1884-1967) Kalicharan Patnaik (1898), Godabarish Mahapatra, Ramkrishna Nanda, Upendra Tripathy and others. This phase in the growth and development of children's literature in Oriya belongs to the period after 1930 and during this period writings for children developed along the approved lines of psychology and science. Both in subject and form the verse and stories for children were reconstructed. The taste of the writers of children books demanded great skill both in language diction and in understanding the psychology of a child. It was understood that the child's language is an intricate pattern of his thinking, his behaviour and is rooted in his family history and environment. The creative education of child through verses and stories was thought as eradication of bad habits and gradual acceptance of good habits. Therefore Juvenile literature in Oriya during 1930 to 1947 in the wake of country's struggle for freedom under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi was enlarged, rebuilt and revitalised. The biography of national heroes and the stories of immortal epics of India were told and retold in a manner easily acceptable by the children and the purpose of such biography was the education of the child. A story whether local in its subject matter of external was set in a socially educative context, Chintamani Mohanty who is a noted poet wrote 'Niti Kusuma', 'Shishu-

dharma' Niti Sahitya', 'Shishu Brarthana' 'Dhuli Ghara' 'Budhuni Khela'. and so many psychologically approved poems for children and in these poems the poet exhorted the children to awake to the world of morality and truth in the midst of their play. Pandit Nilakantha Dash retold Ramayana and Mahabharata (Pilanka Maha Bharat, Bilanka Ramayana) for children. Being a writer of philosophical seriousness Pandit Nilakantha Dash could bring himself home to the world of the children. Godabarish Mishra with the sole purpose of writing text books, designed Ramayan Katha, Mahabharat Katha, 'Panchavira' and his attitude as reflected in his writings was entirely educational. Sri Laxmi Kanta Mahapatra (1888-1953) credited with the editorship of one literary magazine 'Dsgaro' (Dagar) devoted some pages of his magazine to the Juvenile writings. His works like Pilanka Katha', 'Jeeba Jantu', 'Child Khana', Phulei Benguli', 'Ah Janha Mamu', were received well by the young readers. He was self styled as Grandfather to all the Juvenile readers in his journal. He was to some extent influenced by Sri Madhusudan Rao in some of his verses. Sri Mahapatra wrote text books 'Patha Mala', and 'Sahitya Sudhakar', Sri Kalicharan Patnaik who is a distinguished play wrogtts in Orissa has been drawn to write stories and poems for children and his style and language bear the impress of his individual treatment. His first composition for children beings with an address to 'Kalahandia Megha' (Dark Cloud), which have captured the attention of children of all ages. His works include 'Kalahandia Megha', Baidhanati', (1921-1922), 'Baula Beni' (1921-1922), Shishu Khelahi', (1941), The outlook of Kalicharan Patnaik in his composition is more light than serious.

Sri Upendra Tripathy (1903) is the most important author of children's literature and his verses are remarkable so far the portrayal of children's imaginations are concerned. Being primarily a teacher he started his writings with a view to provide his students with reading materials and he was regular writer in 'Pilanka Pasu Pakhi Puran', 'Janha Mamu', 'Mo Desha',. His books like 'Ghanti Ghagudi', 'Kasi Kakudi', 'Benga Bahadur', 'Pilanka Pasu Pakhi Puran', 'Dindima' have earned him the unique distinction of a creative writer for children. In his composition the influence of 'Lulabai Songs', Modern Science and education and modern family life is easily noticed. Examples from his humorous compositions can be given as follows :

"Danda Pindare Aja Basi  
Natiku Gapa Kahibe Hasi  
Gacharu Asi Nida Mausi  
Kolaku Neb Tani."

The effect of music in his poems makes the verses more amusing. Sri Godabarisha Mohapatra (1898-1965) is an important writer of stories and verses and text books for children in Oriya. Both in quality and quantity his humorous writings have provided new dimension to children's literature particularly in creating an atmosphere of patriotism and sacrifice before the children. For some time he edited one children magazine 'Tuan Tuin', which proved very popular among the children.

Efforts of Sri Jagannath Mahapatra who dedicated teacher throughout his life produced model biographical writings in plain and simple language for children and such a series was called 'Anikia Sanskarana' (one Anna Series) under the auspicious of 'Nandan Shikhyaka Sangha'. His publications was an epoch making event in popularising children's literature in Orissa.

Sri Ramakrishna Nanda (1906) Balakrishna Kara (1886-1957) Padma Charan Patnaik, Satyananda Mohanty are some of the important writers for children during the years following 1940. Sri Rama Krishna Nanda started his literary career from writing text books only and popularity of his text books 'Sahitya Sopan', 'Patha Sopan' led him to write for children and introduce science in juvenile literature. For some time he edited the magazine 'Sansar' devoted to children's interest. 'Jhumka' is one of his recent anthology of poems. One of his prayer songs like that of Madhusudan Rao has proved very popular with the school going children. Balakrishna Kar himself a notable writer of stories for children was responsible for popularising children's literature for more than decades and his medium was 'Janha Mamu' a monthly magazine exclusively given to the children. It was started in the year 1932 under his editorship 'Janha Mamu' gave publicity to hundred and hundreds of writers in Oriya those who started writing for children in those days. The magazine carried every month stories, verses, translations and adoption for foreign languages. His second attempt was 'Madhu Khosha' a magazine devoted to the cause of popularising science among the children and his 'Shishu Sankhali' is a lasting contribution to the encyclopaedic literature in Oriya. Besides he himself wrote 'Shishu Ramayana', 'Phulla Changudi', 'SeDeshara Purna Katha', 'Niti Manhari', 'Bira Charita Mala', 'Sati Charrita Mala', 'Sapana Puri', 'Nuapatha', 'Char Patha', After 1940 Juvenile literature in Oriya has undergone tremendous changes both in form and substance. Its growth has been phenomenal in that it started with the oral songs used in villages and established itself in a more well defined pattern and form. The achievements in the field of children's literature have

been extraordinary and enormous both in quality and quantity. Its progress have been remarkable.

Sri Udayanath Sarangi has successfully struck a new angle of vision in treatment of stories and verses for children. Starting his career as a writer of text books such as 'Odissara Itihas Katha', Bharatara Itihas Katha' (1929-1930) he has continued to produce book after such as 'Since Bad', 'Pari Raija', 'Tuka Musi', 'Ali Bana', (21 poems) which proved very popular with the over inquisitive children. In this connection the name Sarbasri Ananta Prasad Panda, Agani Das, Bamadeva Mishra, Krishna Chandra Kara (1905) Chakradhar Mohapatra (1906), Chandra Sekhar Mishra, Baikoli Jyotish Bisarad, Basudev Mohapatra, Nilakantha Rath are some of the devoted writers in Oriya whose contribution in children's literature are noteworthy. Sri Bira Kishore Das who is popularly known as 'Jatiya Kabi', for his patriotic songs was also a capable writer for children. He successfully edited a monthly magazine 'Mo Desha' (1946). Sri Rama Chandra Acharya dealt with pouranic characters and he wrote 'Bhima' (1922), 'Sachitra Markendeya' (1929), 'Sachitra Balmiki' (1931), 'Tulsi Das' (1929) which are interesting as biographical readers for children. Sri Nilakanth Rath also produced life sketches drawn from Mahabharata and Ramayana, Sri Satyananda Mohanty, Sri Dhaneswar Satpathy, Sri Gourichandra Rout, Sri Gopal Chandra Mishra, Sri Bhagawan Pati, Sri Ram Prasad Singh, Sri Ananta Charan Satpathy wrote regularly in children's magazine which appeared from time to time. Sri Bamadeva Mishra's 'Aurang Zeb' and Sri Dayanidhi Mishra's 'Dhurba' and Lingaraj Mishra's 'Guru Govinda Singh', 'Bala Veer Abhimanyu', Jagabandhu Singh's 'Bokasa Washington'. Radhacharan Panda's Mahapurusa Peter, Doctor Livingstone and Binod Kanungo's

'Pilakanka Babu', Sonaprasad Das's 'Veer Keshari' Sivaji', Godabarish Mohapatra's 'Kirti Mala' are some of the well written biographies to attract the children's mind. Sri Satyananda Mohanty wrote interesting stories befitting children's requirements. Humour and attire have crept into the children's writing in a large manner and the central appeal of many of the writings and contributions published in the children's magazines lies in its humours approach. Sridhar Mahapatra is well known for his popular books written on the themes of epics.

Sri Kalindi Charan Panigrahi who is a multigenius and a powerful writer of poetry and fiction in Oriya has also tried his hands successfully in writing for children. He also started his writing for children from his several books, and has attended unique success, for the reason of his simple and direct language and lucidity, manner of narration. He has the unique skill of narrating a story. Sri Kunja Bihari Dash has been successful writer for children. His several publications both consisting of stories and verses have proved the very effective so far the demand of the children is concerned. Sri Manoj Dash has made available in Oriya language stories from English. His 'Sarala Ramayana' makes a simple reading for children. Srimati Premalata Dash has woven some stories for the children basing on theme folk (Mo Kathati Sarila). Often children's literary series like 'Jane Thile Raja', 'Ajanka Kahani', have been much liked by the children in nutshell. "Bilua Nanar Huka", 'Mo Khel Kandhee' by Sri Gopal Chandra Misra has been received.

There have emerged a number of young writers during the period of last thirty years those who have been primarily responsible in shaping the Juvenile literature in Oriya and leading it to a new frontier of knowledge



expression, information and learning. The boredom of class lesson which once passed for children's literature has long been discarded. New modes of expression pictorial representation of stories and verses have become the feature of present day juvenile literature. The emphasis on teaching morality and virtues through juvenile writing has been shifted to the psychological aspect of the stories and verses offered to the children. Emphasis is laid on the entertaining qualities of children's literature. Science, Technology, International Affairs have been gradually introduced in Oriya children's literature. There are three factors which are more responsible for the wider expansion of children's literature and for its sudden popularity and these are the increasing number of Printing Presses in Orissa, the emergence of a large number of children's magazines in Oriya and the impact of All India Radio's weekly forum for children in all the daily papers of Orissa, the increasing rate of literacy in Orissa. The multiplied number of children's magazines have inspired many young writers to write for children with new ideas and techniques. Such journal include 'Prabhata' (1909) (Editor Srimati Reba Ray), 'Panchamruta' (1920), (Editor Chintamani Acharya and Agani Dash), 'Janha Mamu' (1932) Editor Balakrishna Kar.

'Mo Desha' (1946) (Bira Kishore Dash) 'Dagaro' (1937) Editor Laxmikanta Mohapatra (with one section 'Nagabacha Dala'). In fact, the climax of progress and development in children's literature in Oriya has been possible only during last twenty-five years. 'Shishu Sampada', 'Tuin' (1957), 'Sansara', 'Mana Pabana' (1963), 'Shishu Lekha', (1971), 'Mo Desha', 'Baya Chadhei' (1973), 'Chhatra Sathi' (1960), 'Bala Binoda' (1957), 'Babul' (1975), 'Kishore' (1964), 'Viswa Shishu' (1971), 'Tuku Maushi', 'Parijata' (1973), 'Aparajita' (1973), 'Bara Maza', 'Tiki Duniya' (1975), 'Ame Kuna Kuni', (1975) are some of the magazines to name which have faithfully served the cause of Juvenile readers in Orissa. The importance given to child's mind by special programmes conducted by All India Radio is evident. Daily papers like 'Prajatantra', 'Samaj', 'Matrubhumi', 'Kalinga', long since contemplated to provide children's corner once in a week (Meena Shisu Raija, Kishore Phouja, Udayabhanu) in their papers. Several projects instituted by government agencies to encourage children's writers have developed both writers and readers. The result has been the emergence of a consciousness among the children and the need for a special type of literature for children, which is now developing on new lines.



The folk-poetry of Orissa is rich and varied. Lokaratna Dr. K. B. Das, our eminent authority on the subject, discusses in the following paper, the different genres of folk-poetry, transmitted orally from generation to generation. Most of these genres of folk-poetry have survived the change of time and taste and are verily eternal.—*Ed.*

## THE FOLK LITERATURE OF ORISSA

DR. K. B. DAS

The Folk Culture constitutes all ideas and thoughts pertaining to village people. It may be broadly divided as follows :

(1) The Folk literature, (2) The Folk Arts and Crafts, (3) The Folk music. The Folk literature is classified as follows :

(A) The Folk song, (B) The Folk tale, (C) The Folk play. It is not possible to do justice to all the above items in a single article. I have dealt with the first item of the Folk literature only.

### FOLK SONG

The Folk song is a lip composition, a spontaneous creation of a few talented persons, who have no education or literary training worth the name. But they learn from tradition and acquire some skill in composition through habit. Folk literature is a rich and colourful heritage left by predecessors in the memory of the successors.

In process of transmission from person to person and generation to generation, the folk song is bound to change to suit taste of successive singers. Under the circumstances it becomes difficult to find out the original form and its subsequent changes. Of course the same idea is found expressed

in various forms prevalent in different parts of the country.

Oral compositions are products of rural environments. Taken out of these and published in book form they lose their natural beauty. They become as pitiable as birds, the wings of which are clipped.

In studying folk literature we find another peculiarity. The names of the composers or singers are not mentioned. The authors do not believe that their compositions have any outstanding value or they are poets of any merit. The composition is not considered a shrine or a monument of any particular individual. It is accepted as a creation of many poets, a symbol of the masses.

But individual feelings and emotions vibrate in them. Individual sorrows move us, fill our eyes with tears. Individual joys also sparkle our hearts. But they are lost sight of in group consciousness. However we can imagine the galaxy of these poets numbering thousands of cartmen, boatmen, cultivators, day labourers, palkibearers, grass cutters, herdsmen, hewers of wood and drawers of water and ladies who compose when they feed their children, who sing on the swing, sing in separation from their husbands, sing with tears in their eyes when they leave

the mother's house for that of the mother-in-law.

Villagers have a busy life. They mostly do not compose or sing in leisure hours. They sing when they are at work. They plough fields, harvest crops, row boats, drive carts and sing. They sing in religious festivals and on ceremonial occasions and sing when they feel like singing. They sing to break the monotony of hard work or a long journey on foot. Singing is as natural to them as to any natural phenomenon like a singing bird, a murmuring tree or a babbling brook.

### THE SOCIETY THEY DEPICT

They are also more conservative in their outlook. They take every element of the past dictated by tradition as sacred and consider digression from it—a sin. They believe in ghosts and spirits, witchcraft and sorcery and approach the fetish gods and goddesses for solution of the problems of their life. They retain many of the customs and superstitions which appear crude and repulsive to the civilized mind. We find them recorded in religious rites and ceremonies and in folk songs and folk tales. Life of a woman was a curse in this society. Boys and girls did not receive equal treatment from their parents. A woman had no freedom outside the domain of her own house. A man could marry at old age. The bride's father was satisfied with a lumpsum money offered to him by the rich old bridegroom and sacrificed ungrudgingly his dear young daughter. Child marriage was in vogue. If the girl was widowed even before attaining maturity, she was forced to a life of celibacy. Over and above many social problems the village people had to face many serious domestic problems also. The joint family system proved a disadvantage to many. Some

members of the family worked hard and other idled away their time. One or two members earned while all others, depended on them for their maintenance. A quarrel ensued and it brought in a division of the house and property.

The mother-in-law oppressed the daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law was very much afraid of the samā. She wept bitterly in form of rhythmical music when she left her father's house for that of her father-in-law.

Folk songs portray the frozen as well as the present state of the society, show the different stages of the social evolution and revolution and represent various classes of people who differ in social status, thought and language. The folk-song is broadly divided into two classes : one is sung and the other is recited.

### THE PLOUGHMAN'S SONG

It is a three-lined verse, the last line of which is the longest. It can be extended to the length of a full breath. His song is a part of his life of hard work. Work and song move hand in hand. So there is no time to see whether the lines rhyme properly or not, whether he has been creating a new metre or idea. His life is his own inspiration.

Sometimes hunger makes him also all sense of propriety. He picks up a quarrel with his dear wife and beats her. When his hunger is appeased, he realises fully and repents for his action. The cultivator-poet sings this unhappy incident after the names of a God and a Goddess.

### SHIVA—THE CULTIVATOR

Siva is the cultivator who goes to plough his land before sunrise. His wife Parvati carries food to him daily,

unfortunately it was late that day. Siva got very hungry. He noticed from a distance that his wife without caring for his hardship was coming to him gaily dressed and in leisurely steps. He angrily asked her to explain her conduct to which she supplied him with a long list of work like sweeping, cooking, nursing children. Siva had no patience to bear all these. He caught hold of her hair with force, but his heart melted at the sight of the tearful eyes of Parvati. This a familiar motif of the ploughman's songs.

The ploughman is simple but not foolish. His study of human character is unique. On the occasion of reaping or harvesting, when ploughmen gather in field or farm, they portray the character of their master—a miser or an exploiter satirically in a song.

"Our master is very generous. His wife boils tamarind, gruel and water together. When the cultivator in hunger and exhaustion asks for food, she serves him sufficiently with that only.

#### THE SNAKE CHARMER'S SONGS

Orissa—a land of high hills and dense forests is infested with snakes. Big snakes carried by charmers are just for show. They do not listen to the melodious *padmatola* (plucking of lotus) of the snake-charmer or play to the tune of Nageswar (a musical instrument). Cobra, the descendant of 'Kaliya', carries the sandal mark of Krushna on its hood, dances to the tune of the song and the musical instrument.

The snake-charmer of Orissa loaded with two tightly closed baskets tied with ropes, moves from village to village and province to province in India. He keeps long hair, moustache and puts on silver bangles and golden ear-rings.

The *padmatola* song deals with Krushna's plucking of golden lotuses from the lake Kalindi inhabited by the seven

hooded snake. It made the water so poisonous that any animal drinking it, perished. Kansa ordered Nanda to supply him immediately with a hundred load of golden lotuses only found blooming in the poisonous water of that lake. His main purpose was to kill Krushna—his inveterate enemy. Krushna boldly entered the water, plucked flowers and created a great disturbance in the Kingdom of Kaliya. Messengers sent by the King were killed one by one. At last the King of snakes angrily stung him. Krushna fell down senseless on the water. Baldeb, his elder brother brought him to the shore and sprinkled nectar brought by 'Garuda' from heaven. Krushna now revived, captured the snake and danced on its seven hoods mercilessly till it was brought down to submission.

#### THE SONG OF THE LADY TATTOOING

She is a lady artisan of lower class, who moves from door to door, sings charming love songs and attracts young ladies, virgins or daughter-in-laws and mark their forehead, breast, hands with indelible patterns or designs by puncturing and rubbing in pigment. It is a very painful process. The melodious love songs of the painter makes her pain tolerable. She paints bloomed mango trees with cuckoo, cooing on the arms, a nutmeg under the lower lip, a garland of 'Bakul' flowers on the breast, a bower of creepers with the design of a running deer on the thigh, five flower arrows of cupid on the forehead. She sings "O diamond among ladies, your body will be decorated with flowery bowers of bees, flying birds and butterflies, shining moon and stars. After being painted with attractive designs (which awaken sex feelings) go and bow down to your dear husband. He should first appreciate the art which enhances the beauty of young ladies and then pay me the cost of painting."

Tattooing is now growing out of fashion. The sophisticated 'ladies' consider it a symbol of unrefined taste.

Sometimes male devotees paint their bodies with figures of Radha & Krushna, Rama and Sita, quotations of prayer songs and names of gods and goddesses, believing that these would please them and keep the sins at bay.

#### BAUNSARANI

It is a form of country-circus constituting two or three persons. A lady climbs up the bamboo post and astonishes the crowd by display of strange physical feats at a great height. In between the exercises she pours down showers of music followed by beating of drum and tuning of Nageswara (a musical instrument) underneath. She prays to Sidha Basuli, Mangala and other gods and goddesses at the start of her performance to avoid accidents. Music and exercise go on alternatively. Spectators pay the party of their own accord after the queen of the bamboo climbs down and the circus is over.

#### CHAKULIAPANDA

He is a lower class brahmin having a white sandal mark on the forehead. He carries a palm leaf umbrella, a bag of rice on the shoulder and sings a song—"Give and persuade others to give whatever you give will be returned to you in much larger quantity. This world belongs to none permanently. Death is a certainty. Our sojourn over this earth is but temporary. Only Dharma is permanent. Dharma wins the battle of life everywhere. Sin is defeated everywhere. The true Giver's wealth is spent in good causes i.e. in services of gods and brahmins and the wealth of miser is destroyed by fire. So give as much as you can and persuade others to follow you. Giving the poor and the needy never goes in vain. It

comes back to the giver in multiplied form. The hands of the donor are purified. His soul is uplifted. Feeding the poor is the best of all donations like giving the daughter in marriage or donating land or cows".

The Panda does not beg from door to door like other beggars. He is taken to be a very sacred person and given without his asking for alms. The quantity of rice given to him is more than ordinary alms. Returning a panda without any donation is considered a great sin and giving to the panda is equivalent to feeding one hundred eight brahmins in terms of virtue.

Chakuliapanda appears in the village only on days of fasts and festivals like the new moon, full moon, Ekadasi etc. and the system is supported by tradition of the hoary past. Kunti of the Mahabharat knew Bhima's turbulent nature very well and advised him take to this form of begging. She was afraid that Bhima might get furious in case of non-giving and deal a severe blow to some villager.

#### PASTORAL SONGS

Cowherd boys move in fields, forests, hills and dales with their herds and fill their empty hours with plays and songs. They come back home in twilight and enjoy sound sleep, rest and peace. But those with herds of buffaloes or pigs spend their long nights in open spaces under palm leaf umbrella. In rainy season they sleep on scanty bed on the damp ground surrounded by buffaloes in nauseating smell of urine and dung. Biting of wild mosquitoes, cold wind and heavy showers do not allow them to enjoy sound sleep and rest. These victims of Nature's wrath spend their sleepless nights playing on their pet musical instrument the 'Dhuduka' and go on



singing their lip compositions. The songs and the melodious and melancholous sounds of Dhuduka along with murmuring of wind and rainfall, fill the heart of villagers at the dead of night with strange feelings. The songs refer to their hard life under the palm leaf umbrella, their dry days and monotonous movements in muddy fields with the herd when they are bitten by flies and gnats.

### THE SWING SONGS

The Swing decorated with garlands of flowers is tied to the branch of a mango or a banyan tree. The virgins of the village gather there on some festive occasion like the Raja or 'Kuanra puneī'. One of them is elected as 'Dolarani' (queen of the swing). When the queen takes her seat on the swing, the virgins move her forward and backward with chorus of charming songs. They are full of pleasant humour breath and gay spirits of the virgin days.

### LOVE SONGS

Love is the most prominent sentiment that inspires men and women to sing. The aborigines like Bhatra, Rana, Bhumya, Saura, Paraja, Gadba, Santal, Kandha and Savar and Ariyans in respective localities under the spell of their influence, assemble in some particular place and enjoy the spring festival dancing and singing songs of love. They shake off all their sorrows and sufferings of the past year and feel inspired to begin life anew. In these days, young people bloom like flowers and talk like inspired poets. Desire for marriage, sorrow of separation and satires are expressed in these songs. Dalkhai and Sajani songs dealing with love are very popular in Sambalpur, Patna, Sonapur and Kalahandi.

### THE POPULAR BALLAD

Popular ballad is a narrative song with oral tradition. The name of the author is unknown. It is free from all literary influences and is fairly homogeneous. It does not carry any stamp of individual efforts. The poet hardly attempts to express his thoughts artistically or restrain his feelings where necessary or to regulate his metres and rhymes.

It sometimes gives graphic picture of domestic complications. The management of the house rests upon the mother who cleans the cow shed, cooks food, brings up children and works all day long without the assistance of any domestic servant or maid servant. When her son attains marriageable age, she insists on her husband to search for a good daughter-in-law, for she is unable to do the domestic duty alone and is in need of somebody else's help. Moreover so many mother-in-laws enjoy the food cooked by their daughter-in-laws. If she dies before the marriage of her son, she will be bereft of this enjoyment altogether,

Now the marriage ceremony is over. The mother-in-law likes the daughter-in-law like her own daughter and proudly sings her virtues before the neighbours.

Days pass on. The guardian of the house becomes old and infirm. The son becomes the chief active member on whose earning rests the management of the house. Now who will be the queen of the house? The old lady wants to retain the statusque, does not permit the daughter-in-law to talk or move freely. She becomes a prisoner in the Kitchen for years.

She revolts. Why should she bow her head before such a proud mother-in-law who has no affection for her?

When toleration brings in no change of heart, when weeping, the weapon of the week, proves totally fruitless, she violently resists, quarrel starts, and the house becomes a hell. The son feels helpless in the matter. In one side is the affectionate mother and in the other side is the beloved. Whom will he suppress or support? Any partiality is fraught with grave danger.

The oppressed daughter-in-law occupies the position of the mother-in-law. So this goes on for ages. Now a days most of the village families are free from these domestic quarrels. But the old satirical song of the daughter-in-law reminding us of the past tyranny of the mother-in-law continues to be sung by the village ladies. Most of the ballads sung by the yogis are lip compositions.

Teaching of Mayanboti in the village poet's songs is really commendable. "You use a crocodile to cross the ocean. Do not be led astray by the glittering wealth of the world. All that is mirage. Woman is like a 'Mahakal' fruit with a charming exterior, but when broken you will see nothing but charcoal inside. She looks attractive like a red 'simul' flower in the spring season. After sometime you will see nothing but light cotton flying away.

### FOLK-BALLADS

Oriya folk ballads may be roughly classified into three divisions—(a) Religious, (b) Historical, (c) Social. Ballads popular in Orissa are mostly melancholous in tone. The characters of village women whose sufferings have been overwhelming due to loss of son, daughter or husband or domestic tyranny is depicted in them.

### MARRIAGE SONGS

The daughter weeps when after marriage she has to leave her affec-

tionate parents who brought her up tenderly like a flower plant in the courtyard. This weeping is partly due to parting from dear parents, friends and neighbours and leaving the congenial atmosphere of homely life and partly due to fear of traditional oppression of the mother-in-law. This separation from near and dear ones is really tragic. She with little experience of worldly experience does not know how to cope with the new situation. She weeps helplessly. In upper class families this almost became a custom which with the spread of education now vanishes.

### JUVENILE SONGS

The song of the child is incoherent and meaningless. Each line draws a picture vague and incomplete but enjoyable. It breathes an atmosphere of innocence and happy sentiments though there is no depth of thought. It is irregular in metre, crude in form and diction. But that is immaterial to the child. He cares more for expression and dramatic action and less for meaning, form and diction.

Juvenile song is of various types. Play song is one of the sections.

Some of the songs are satirical. The jackel files away at the sight of the wicked boys. When they find far beyond the reach of stones, they sing a satirical song to tease him.

'Oh, my brother jackel, look back,  
Your house is burnt.'

His so called brothers treat him so discourteously why should he care to look back? The jackal never builds a house like men. How can its house be burnt. Still the jackel when it reaches a safe distance looks to the notorious boys with frowning eyes as if they have actually burnt his house.

Some of the juvenile songs are very pathetic. As she crane went somewhere in search of food. Its two wings were broken by a hunter's arrow she was unable to come back home. The young ones were almost mad for her delay and went on weeping bitterly. A sympathetic boy of poetic type consoled them saying that their mother had gone to watch a herd of cows, would bring ripe bael for their dinner. They should not weep any more. The improbability of a crane watching a herd of cows or its young

ones eating bael does not occur to the mind of innocent boys.'

Many such folk songs of children give us Joyful and melancholous pictures of life and its surroundings in greatest possible economy of words. But these lines are surcharged with feelings eternal. Hundreds and thousands of poems of great poets disappear; because they are not deep rooted in the heart of man. But the meaningless creation of the child goes on for ever.



The autochthonous tribals constitute 20% of Orissa's total population. Imperceptibly, get subtly, the tribal culture has influenced the Sanskrit culture, as much as the Sanskrit culture has influenced the tribal culture. Dr. N. Patnaik, an anthropologist in this paper has discussed the Tribal Culture of Orissa varied and picturesque.—*Ed.*

## TRIBAL LIFE IN ORISSA

DR. N. PATNAIK

Broadly, there are 4 distinct geophysical zones in Orissa in which the tribes of Orissa have been distributed in uneven proportions.

### 1) Northern Plateau (25.5 percent) :

It includes Sundergarh, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts and Bamra and Kuchinda portions of Sambalpur district and the interior plains of the Balasore district and Pallahara region of Dhenkanal district. In this zone, there are as many as 58 tribal groups numbering about 2 million people.

In this zone there are 8 major tribes such as Santal, Kolha, Munda, Bhuinya, Oraon, Gond, Kisan and Bathudi numbering more than one lakh each and there are two primitive tribes such as the Hill Bhuinya and the Juang numbering only a few thousands.

### 2) The Central table land :

This zone covers the whole or the Brahmani, and the Mahanadi basins. There are only two major tribes, the Gond and the Saora numbering each more than one lakh.

### 3) The Eastern Ghat Region :

The peninsular plateaus are bordered on the east by the Eastern Ghats, a tectonic range but by many rivers

into discontinuous blocks of mountains. Broadly it is divided into 5 sections.

### 1) NORTHERN SECTION :

It starts from Nilgiri and stretches up to Boud border rising to a height of 2239 feet. No tribe of this zone touches one lakh mark. But the Khond and the Sabar are most numerous in this zone numbering 30517 and 23633 people respectively.

### 2) CENTRAL SECTION :

The central section of the Eastern Ghats covers Boud, Balliguda, G. Udayagiri areas and the hills of this section are very high ranging in height from 1000 feet to 4000 feet. The Khond population is 223322 in this section. The population of the Khond Goud, Saora, Kotia and the Gond ranges from 2460 to 9734. The population of the remaining 24 tribes is each below one thousand. This zone can be called the Khond zone.

### 3) RAYAGADA SECTION.

This section comprises Parlakhemundi and Rayagada hill areas, with an elevation of 1000 feet. Like other sections the mountain ranges of this zone give place to plateaus or broken rugged hill country stretching irregularly towards

the West until they merge into the uplands of Madhya Pradesh. These hill areas have been inhabited by as many as 42 tribal communities and of them the Khond and the Saora are most numerous with 229655 and 132779 people respectively. There are only two tribal groups, the Sabar and the Paroja numbering 58634 and 20680 people respectively. Four tribal communities record a population varying between 1355 and 7950 people. All other tribal communities record a population below one thousand each. This section includes Parlakhemundi, Rayagada and Gunupur I.T.D.As.

#### 4) SOUTH-EASTERN SECTION

Based on elevation this section is divided into 3 plateaus.

##### a) 3000 feet plateau

It covers Koraput and Pottangi areas and have been the home of as many as 33 tribal communities and of them the Khond, the Paroja and the Gadaba are most numerous recording population above 20,000 while all others are below 4,000 people.

##### b) 2000 feet plateau.

It covers Jeypore and Nowarangpur sub-divisions. The major tribes inhabiting this zone is Bhottada whose population is above one lakh. There are 40 tribal communities living in this area.

##### c) 1000 feet plateau.

It comprises the Malkangiri sub-division of Koraput district. This area has been inhabited by many tribal communities and of them the Koya and the Bhuinya are most numerous. This is the area where the Bonda Paroja live. The Bonda highlanders are considered very primitive, and have been attracting the attention of the ethnographers and

anthropologists since the latter part of the 19th century.

#### 5) SOUTH-WESTERN SECTION

This section comprises the (a) plain country and (b) the Dongar (a plateau of 2000 feet to 3000 feet high) of Kalahandi district. The Dongar portion includes Lanjigarh and Thuamul-Rampur areas, inhabited mostly by the Khonds who are very primitive. The Khond and the Gond are each above one lakh population.

#### 4) THE COASTAL REGION

Along the eastern sea-board tract lies a plain, made up partly of deltas formed by the numerous streams which flow from the inland hills and mountains into the Bay of Bengal. It covers 21.2 percent of the total land surface of the State and stretches from the mouth of the Ruskikulya river in the south to the Subarnarekha river in the north. The coastal tract is most fertile in the state and has been the home of many hardy and prosperous peasants and fisherfolk.

There are 51 tribal communities numbering 275689, living in this region. The most numerous tribes among them are the Saora, Sabar, Santal, Khond, Bhumija, Kolha, and the Munda whose population varies from 14735 to 65268. The tribes of the coastal belt are in close contact with their Hindu neighbours and in various stages of acculturation and assimilation.

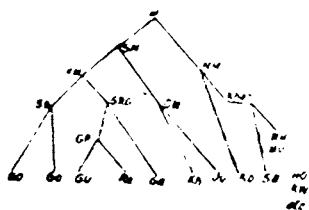
#### RACIAL AFFINITY

Generally speaking the proto-Australoid type is the dominant element among the tribes of Orissa. Agglutinin tests made on a few tribal groups in the southern and central India show that there seems to be a marked preponderance of the blood group among the tribes of Southern India. But





shows the branches of Munda languages.



The abbreviations are So-Sora ; Go-Gorum; Gu-Gutob; Re-Remo; Ga-Gata; Kh-Kharia; Ju-Juang; Ko-Korku; Sa-Santali; Mu-Mundari; Kw-Korwa; M - Proto - Munda; SM - Proto-South Munda;

The Munda languages are Korku, the Mundari-Ho branch of Kherwarian, Santali, Kharia, Juang, Gutob (Gadba), Remo (Bonda), Gata (Didayi), Gorum (Parenga), and Sora (Saora). This is not the exhaustive list of Munda groups of languages. It is possible that as yet unexplored Munda languages will be found in the future.

## TRIBAL SOCIETY AND CULTURE

### Economic Life :

Among the people of Orissa there are some tribal groups who are in a very primitive state of existence, subsisting on hunting and food gathering and by simple forms of a agriculture. Their number is small. The Birhor, the Mankidi and the Mankirdia fall into this category. The tribal groups who are in the next higher stage of culture are numerically larger and instead of the typical food gatherers, cattle herding and shifting cultivation are the prevalent form of food production. Among these tribes the houses are solidly built and the life is more settled with organized social life and village councils and with development of arts and craft, music and dancing. The whole social life of the tribes centres round bachelors' or spinsters' dormitory and religious

activities are associated with fertility cults and in some cases are observed in an elaborated manner. The practice of magic and witchcraft and sorcery is widespread.

Among some tribal communities terracing is widely practised and where contact has been closer as among the Santal, the Munda and many others, plough cultivation has been primary source of livelihood. A short account of the life-ways of different sections of the tribal people is given below :

### 1. HUNTER-GATHERER

The tribes falling under this economic class are not in isolation. They are in contact with other people and in complementary relationship with their neighbours. The important tribes of this category are the Birhor, the Chenchu, the Mallar, the Korwa and the Kharia of Sundergarh and Mayurbhanj districts. Their number will not exceed 10,000 and they have a nomadic style of life. They live in small groups called local bands. Each band is associated with a geographical range. But they do not function as closed social units because intergroup visiting and Marriage alliances and reciprocal exchange of goods and services constitute the core features of their socio-economic life. They live in bamboo huts and leaf-shelters. Their fundamental economic base includes a camp life and a division of labour with males hunting and females gathering roots and tubers from the nearby forests.

The amount of personal property among them is kept at a low level and this constrain on the accumulation of property serves to keep the wealth differences between the individuals to the minimum. This limited wealth differences do not encourage any class system to grow among them and,

therefore, their society appears to be more or less of egalitarian type.

The limited resources and the nature of the food supply keeps the local bands small. Throughout the world the density of population among the hunters and food gatherers ranges from 1 to 25 persons per 100 square miles. The low population density among the nomadic people explains their greater resistance to the epidemic diseases than what is observed among the farming people in densely populated areas. The constraints that operate among the hunters and gatherers for population control are malnutrition, disease, infanticide and prolonged location.

The hunter-gatherer band is not a corporate body of persons as they are migratory and do not have ownership rights of the resources. Whenever population increases in a local band, it is fissioned into smaller groups which disperse in different directions within the territory of their movement. Due to lack of exclusive rights to resource and variations in food supply from region to region and year to year, there is very little of intra or interband economic competition. The rival groups part company rather than resort to violence which seems to be the simplest device of avoiding conflict and maintaining harmony in the band. This mechanism of fission of the local bands explain the fluidity of the band composition and flexible social organization.

Hunting-gathering refers to a mode of subsistence and the subsistence base of the hunters is much more substantial than what was previously supposed. Some marginal hunters actually work for lesser number of hours and exploit abundant food sources. They show considerable lack of concern about the problem of finding food and hoarding it against future

shortage. Perhaps it is this lack of future orientation that has enabled them to live in a state of mental happiness.

With the denudation of the local resources and constant ecological pressure some hunting and gathering communities are faced with hardship and anxiety. For example, the Birhors not only work hard for their food, but often go hungry in spite of their hard labour. Such communities lead a very precarious life for want of food. They are in contact with the neighbouring people with whom they barter their hunted animal for rice. This exchange does not usually take place in the market as the game animals netted have to be traded on the same day. This necessity rules out the normal village market as an outlet for their collected forest products. The Birhors are also the best rope makers and they exchange it for rice with their neighbouring communities.

A specific knowledge about the staple and subsidiary economy of the tribes of this category is essential for their development and adjustment in the national economy. For example, among the nomadic tribes inter personal conflict is resolved by parting company and the mechanism of fission in the local bands makes the band composition fluid. If the nomadic tribes are rehabilitated to a settled life in a colony the social control of resolving disputes by parting company will no longer be operative and therefore cases of conflicts and quarrels will increase and will be intensified making the life in the colony most uncomfortable. The experiment of rehabilitation of the Chenchus in Andhra Pradesh has shown that the Chenchus started killing one another and cases of quarrelling and murder multiplied in the colony.

The Birhors can most profitably be employed in catching monkeys. There is a great demand in medical research for the Indian Rhesus monkeys. If the skill of the Birhors in catching monkeys could be utilised their economic condition could be improved.

## 2. PASTORAL

Besides skill, the aptitude and the value system of the tribes should be taken into consideration in planning strategies for their development. The experiment of rehabilitation that was tried among the Koyas in Dandakaranya indicates how these cultural elements play a significant role in making the programmes of development successful. Some Koya families have been settled. In colonies along with the Bengali refugees in Dandakaranya. They have been provided land for cultivation. But the response of the tribe to this induced change has been negative. The Koyas have not been skilled agriculturists like the Bengali refugees. Instead of showing improvement in cultivation the Koyas have been very much perturbed that most of the grazing lands have passed into the hands of the refugees and therefore their cattle suffer for want of pasturage. For this reason the Koyas and the Refugees are not in good terms with one another and most of the cases of quarreling between these two parties have originated from cases of encroachment and gradual shrinkage of pasture land. The Koyas by nature evince great interest in cattle-breeding and animal husbandry. In any developmental strategy meant for the Koyas, animal husbandry should be given first priority. Therefore, programmes of development among the tribals should be aptitude based.

We have noticed that some tribal communities maintain cattle more for aggrandisement than for deriving any

utility. They eat beef, pork and other types of meat. But they do not drink milk and eat milk products. One explanation for their lack of interest in milk is that milk drinking is an Aryan practice. As the tribes are non-Aryan, they do not appreciate the milk-taking habit. The other explanation is that the tribals consider that the milk is meant for young calves not for human beings. Some also believe that milk causes some also believe that milk causes love for the young calves and for the fear of getting disease that they are averse to milk-drinking practices. Beliefs and values associated with food and food habits are difficult to change. But by intensive extension methods these hard nuts can be cracked. The best way of changing belief system concerning milk and milk products is to mobilize the leaders among the Koyas to take up improved cattle breeding and animal husbandry. Once the leaders adopt the scheme with success the later will follow their leaders automatically in this regard.

## 3. SHIFTING CULTIVATION

The total number of forest dwellers practising hunting and gathering does not perhaps exceed a few thousands. But a much larger number of tribes who dwell in the hills and forests are dependent upon the produce of the slash and burn type of agriculture.

The important tribes practising this primitive agriculture are the Dongria and Kutia Khorids, the Lanjia Saora, the Bonda Paroja, the Juang and the Bhuinya. In an estimate recently made on the basis of vegetation map prepared by the French Institute, Pondichery it is found out that 2729339.528 hectares (10538.031 sq. miles) of land surface of Orissa (of which 90.9% in southern Orissa and 9.1% in Northern Orissa) are affected by the practice of shifting cultivation.



#### 4. SETTLED FARMERS

Many tribal communities have taken up settled cultivation in the plains, and their economic life has become more or less the same as that of the neighbouring hindu peasantry.

The Saoras of the Ganjam district are noted for their terraced cultivation. By stone packed contour bunding they lay out small terraced fields on the hill slopes and grow paddy. Their water management is most skillful. By means of channels they regulate the flow of water from the natural hill streams and irrigate the terraced fields.

Cultural Characteristics and Quality of Life :

Tribal communities retain their own way of managing internal affairs. And their way differs from that of their Hindu neighbours. The contrast becomes clearer when we examine



A very typical specimen of the Juang Tribe of Gonasika, Keonjhar, Orissa.  
(Processed from E-T, Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal-1872.)

certain other types of cultural peculiarities which are ancestral to the tribal societies. One such characteristics is the bachelors' dormitory which is present in one form or other in many tribal communities of Orissa.



A Juang old women of 1982.  
Photo by THRTI, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

The tribes such as the Juang and the Bhuinya have well organised dormitory system. Conspicuous in a village is the bache'ors' dormitory which is called Mandaghar in Keonjhar and Majang or Darbar in Pallahara. The Mandaghar is the largest hut in the village. It has walls on three sides and is open in front. The wooden posts and side walls are carved with decoration symbols depicting animals. The boys hang their changu, a flat tambourine-like drum which is used at the time of dancing. In front of the Mandaghar is



a small open space where dances take place almost every night after the day's work is over. The dormitory so to say is a school of dancing and an expression of the communal art of the people.

The elders of the village assemble at the Mandaghar for every important event in their corporate life. Here they settle the distribution of swiddens so that the gods can overhear everything they do. Here the seeds to be sown in the clearing are stored and sanctified. The priest's axe, with which the first tree is felled is stored. Fire is always kept alight in the centre of the room and from this place the sacred fire is taken to kindle the brushweed in the clearing. Before every festival the men meet here to decide what is to be done. The village deity, (Gram-siri) is installed close to the Mandaghar. In these respects the Juang dormitory may be considered as the centre of social, economic and religious life of the village and the tribal solidarity is strengthened by institutions of this kind. Setting up of a bachelors' dormitory and a maids' dormitory in a colony meant for the Juang or the Bhuinya community would not only attract the people of these communities to the colony but also give to the colony the appearance of original tribal settlement.

The lineage or clan, as a form of organization is no less important in the context of rehabilitation programme or for that matter any transformation from traditionality to modernity. Among the Ho or Munda the clan has a significant role to play in maintaining tribal solidarity. In life and in death a Ho belongs to the clan of his father. When a man dies, his body may be cremated and some of his bones are collected in a small urn and interred under a large flat-stone in the clan ossuary. In areas inhabited by the Hos

the clan essuaries dotted here and there in the country side are marked by horizontal or vertical slabs cut and transported at a great expense of communal labour of clan members. The ceremony of bone-burial is an occasion of get together of agnates and of feasting and drinking. If such cultural practice are encouraged in any colony meant for any Mundari people there is no reason why the change from the old to the new settlement will not be adopted by the target group.

The agencies, governmental or voluntary, who are keen to uplift the tribal people should not lose sight of the freedom which the tribes enjoy while living in close relationship with nature. Their sense of joy and pleasure finds outlet in such as music and dancing. The music of tribal society as it is accompanied by dance in which both men and women young and old participate carries true emotional appeal. It is not good, as some outsiders do to look askance at such picturesque customs as the dance of men and women together.

The joy of free life finds expression in tribal art and craft. The Juang, Saora and Khond carve the door with traditional designs. The combs of various shape made by the Juangs with beautiful engravings and the wall-paintings as practised by Santal women in pretty colours with animal figures and floral designs, the basketry and textiles which are turned out by the Gadaba and the Bonda Paroja are all symbolic of artistic creation. Indeed, the life tribal communities, though full of stark poverty is copiously enriched in such items of art and craft. In any construction works meant for tribal development the artistic skill of tribal people has to be employed to ensure emotional involvement and participation of the target group in such works.



A Bonda girl in typical dance costume.

The tribal folk have their sorrow, apart from those due to productive inefficiency and economic exploitation. They are obsessed by certain fears, the product of a philosophy which impinges on the simple problems of existence. There is the belief, for instance, that everything in life subject to the control of supernatural forces. It is believed that all types of illness are caused by ghosts and spirits. In such cases the tribal people may take recourse to herbal remedies some of which have therapeutic value. But the main reliance is on the religious headman, medicine-man and sorcerer. These specialists find out by magic and divination the unseen causes of disease and prescribe sacrifice and offering to the dissatisfied spirits who have afflicted illness.

The belief in magical cure is so strong that the tribal people are very much averse to modern medical practices. Hospitals in tribal areas are very few in relation to population, but it is already difficult to fill even these few. The tribal houses are small, crowded and ill-ventilated and where sanitary measures are inadequate. Under these circumstances it seems desirable that the general patients avail themselves of medical facilities and women go to hospital for delivery. But this does not happen in practice. Hospital is conceived by the tribal people as a place where the patient is left in the hands of some impersonal strangers away from friends and relatives. It appears to be a strange place and the hospital disciplines make no concessions to tribal customs. Each culture has its own prescribed behaviour for the expectant or parturient mother and ailing persons and this is important for health and survival of mother and child or the husband or total unit. During illness, or at child birth, the individual is weak and vulnerable. A critical time in one's life is not one at which

to court the hazards of unknown surroundings which the hospitals present to the tribals.

The trust in the supernatural is observed not only in curative practices but also in other realms of life. When the Juang have to select a new site for a settlement, the village priest digs a hole, goes through a form of worship, and leaves a chicken in the hole over night, under a basket. If the bird is found dead the following morning, the Juang will avoid the site for the gods do not want them to live there. In tribal areas many places are not suitable for habitation because the omens are not favourable for this purpose. Colonies established in such inauspicious places are abandoned for fear of unnatural manifestations.

#### CHANGING SCENE

All that we have stated above relate to the traditional tribal society and culture. But what is happening to tribal people and their life in Orissa and other parts of the country to-day. It may be said that the changes to which the tribal communities are subject are mainly of three kinds. Some are due to socio-religious movements from within. Some changes are due to external agencies-governmental and voluntary-working for the development of the tribes. A series of changes are being brought about through laws and protective policies and political modernization and manipulative politics. Although the stresses to which a tribe is subject may be caused by forces from outside, the direction of change is largely determined by internal leadership and value-concern or value-emphasis of the tribe.

Many types of social movements have taken place among the tribes of Orissa for some reason or other. Some of the important types of social movements are reactionary and revivalistic,

conservative and perpetuative, revisionary and revolutionary, norm-oriented and value-oriented, millenarian and messianic, emulation-reinforcing and solidarity-reinforcing movements. The Sarna Dharma (Sacred Grove Religion) movement among the Santal is purely a revivalistic movement. The Birsa movement and Tana Bhagat movements are of the nature of reform movement. The movement which took place among the Gond and the Bhil is of the type of status mobility movement. Some of the movements indicate that there is a general belief among some people that a messiah will arise to bring back the good old days, the proverbial Golden Age, secure justice and drive away the oppressors. The

Munda sometime back had faith in a powerful charismatic leader called Dharti Aba who preached Hindu ideals of rituals of purity, morality, asceticism and against the worship of priests.

The swing was formerly towards a slow process of Hinduisation away from tribal tradition, the current trend seems to be one towards a kind of nationalistic revival under the grab of 'sub-nationalism'. It is interesting to note that while a constant evolution and reinstatement of tribal heritage takes place, certain picturesque customs like dance, music, and art which were the source of joy to tribal people are given up under the influence of hinduization and urbanization.



Clashing of steels and flexing of muscles, is not a very happy prospect for mankind. No civilised people is ever proud of war mongering. Yet martial spirit among a people is a virtue to be cultivated..not for purposes of aggrandisement and extension of political frontiers, but: to preserve the freedom of the land ; and as a deterrent against aggression. Orissa's proud martial traditions were based on these principles. From the ashes of the Kalinga-War, waged by Asoka, Orissa rose like a sphynx to attain the status of a great power, even till the 17th century. In the following paper, the author, throws light, on that little discussed aspect of Orissa's Cultural History.—*Ed.*

## THE MILITARY & MARITIME TRADITIONS OF ORISSA

Dr. B. PANDA

### IN THE PURANIC AGE

The heroic achievements of Orissans could be noted much earlier than the birth of Christ. In 1100 B.C. occurred the great Mahabharata war, in which the kings of Kalinga and Utkala had participated on either sides along with their army. The Mahabharata upholds the bravery displayed by the Orissan army. The Buddhist Jataka also speaks of a deadly war between Kalinga and Asmaka which took place in the 7th century B.C. The emperor Mahapadmananda of great Nanda dynasty of Magadha invaded Kalinga in the 4th century B.C. to acquire war elephants. The war brought a loss to Kalingans and Nanda king took away the idol of Jina as his trophy.

### KALINGA WAR

In the first half of the 3rd century B.C. the world witnessed the greatest battle of the age with its far-reaching consequences. The seeds of the great Kalinga war were sowed with the advent of the Mauryan era and bore fruits in the reign of Asoka, the greatest of the

Mauryas, Kalinga being a tiny kingdom on the eastern frontier of the great Mauryan empire had remained unconquered till the age of Asoka.

During this period Kalinga had a sound system of administration and organised of praised economy on a sound footing by vigorous maritime activities. In such a developed system, Kalinga was a challenge to the emperors of Mauryan dynasty. The scholars observe that, Kalinga was a sort of wedge driven into the body politics of the Mauryan empire and might at any time could conspire with Chola kingdoms in the south.

Besides such economical and political rivalries, craze for overlordship, which has been the main inspiration behind most wars in history, served as a vital cause for Asoka's invasion of Kalinga. The war took place and ended with the casualties of about a lakh of people and over a lakh were taken as prisoners. The horrors and miseries, particularly the casualties suffered by the army of Kalinga as



recorded in the XIII Rock edict brought a great remorse in the mind of Asoka. In consequence of this he turned to a Buddhist wedded to non-violence. By his efforts and propagation Buddhism became a world religion. Though Asoka had reduced Kalinga he realised that the conquest of the heart is more durable than the conquest by the sword.

According to Asokan inscriptions, the Kings in the contemporary society were pronounced as emperor or Chakravarti. The army was divided in its component divisions, namely, elephant corps, chariot, cavalry and infantry. The country was surrounded with a number of forts. So also Kalinga had different types of forts at that time. Among them the fort of Tosali, Dhauli, Dantapura, Jaugada, Asuragada, etc., had achieved fame. In war the soldiers had used bow, arrow and club etc.

#### HEROIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF KHARAVELA

The martial spirit which had diminished to some extent after the Kalinga war was brought into a new vigour at the time of Kharavela, the Chief of the Chedi royal dynasty. He was on the throne only for fourteen years but these remarkable years placed him high in Indian history. With his invincible army Kharavela brought under his domains, a number of kings from North and South India. His empire was spread from Satabahana empire in the South to Gorathagiri in the North India. He had crushed Magadha, the traditional enemy of Kalinga, defeated Brihaspati mitra and brought back Kalinga Jina, which had been carried away by the Nanda king. For the entertainment of his people, Kharavela arranged the show of military exercises in his capital. It could be noted from every line of Hatigumpha inscription that

Kalinga, was most prosperous at the time of Kharavela.

Though shortlived, Kharavela's empire in the first century B.C. appears to have covered nearly one-third of the Indian sub-continent. It was the first independent Kalingan empire. Not only Kharavela could revive the lost glory of Kalinga but also influences a lot to the socio-economic life of the people of Kalinga.

#### MARTIAL ACTIVITIES BEFORE THE ADVENT OF THE GANGAS

Between the fourth and the sixth century A.D. the Matharas, (314-536 A.D.) had gained their position in southern Orissa. The Siripur copper plate grant of Anantavarma, Tandibada and Paralakhemundi copper plate grants (C.P.G.) of Prithvi Maharaja, note that, the kings of this Dynasty received the title of Saktitrayopanata, Prajahitarata, Ranadurjaya, Vikramendra, etc. The officers of Mathara army were distinguished with the title of Dandanayaka, Mahabaladhikrita, Dundaneta etc. The kings of Pitrubhakta and the Nala Dynasties, (400-700 A.D.), who were ruling the Northern Orissa, were probably most vigorous in their martial activities which could be traced from their titles of Tripatakadhvaja, Vikramakshapati and Mahasamanta, etc.

The kings of Sailodbhaba Dynasty (575-736 A.D.) who were ruling the Eastern and Middle Orissa from 6th century to 8th century were entitled as Ranakshova, Rana Abhita, etc. Being unable to face the contemporary feudal kings, the rulers of this Dynasty seem to have at last left their home land and established a kingdom in far east islands of Indonesia. But their archeological remains prove their high martial tradition. The army camps and forts at this time were referred as Kangodavasaka. Vijaya-saumyapura, Vijaya-banjulaka etc. The

bow, arrow, sword, wheel, etc., were used as war equipments. Ganjam C.P.G. of Madhavaraja, Banpur C. P. G. of Madhyamaraja and Dharakot C. P. G. of Kalyanakalasa prove that the soldiers of the Sailodbhaba army were specialists in driving elephants, adept in sword fightings and experts in wrestling.

The Svetaka-Ganga (497-1112 A.D.) the contemporaries of Sailodbhabas had strained relations which manifested in struggles for power. The kings and the nobles of this Dynasty were designated as Mandaladhipati, Mahamandalika, Mahamandalesvara, etc., which denote their valour and bravery. Simultaneously with Svetaka-Ganga, the Bhauma-Karas (736-950 A.D.) were ruling in the Northern Orissa. They had struggled a lot with the kings of Gauda, Radha and Kalinga. The kings and nobles of this Dynasty were entitled to number of designations like, Mahasamanta, Maharajadhiputra, Maharajadhiraja, etc. The officers in charge of administration and army were known as Uparika, Dandapasika, Visayapati, Ayuktaka, Chata. Bhatta, Mahakapatalika, Sadyadhikara, Samavaji Kotyakola, Brihadbhogi, Pustapala etc.

The Somavamsis were the rulers at this time in the western Orissa. The kings Janmejaya, Yajati, Dharmarath and Udayttakesari of this dynasty are mostly renowned for their conquests. They were able to defeat the kings of Dahala, Kanchi, Gauda, Radha, Vergi, Khirjili Mandala, Kalacheri, Utkala, Kalinga, Kangoda and Bengal. The Somavamsis have a well trained and invincible army. The officials of their army were adorned with the titles of Sandhibigrahi, Ranaka, Ranakesari, Unmattakesari etc. The C. P. G. of Yayati Kesari, the Brahmesvara temple inscription of Udyottakesari, the Cuttack C.P.G. of Mahasivagupta Yajati and the artistic scenes of martial

activities on the temple of Lingaraja and others depict the martial glory of Somavamsis.

## ORISSA IN THE REIGN OF GANGAS AND THE GAJAPATIS

Between the 12th and 14th centuries, there emerged a notable dynasty which stabilised the martial tradition of Orissa to a great extent. They are the Gangas, who extended the frontiers of Orissa from the river Ganga to Godabari. Under the victorious kings, like Chodaganga Deva, Ananga-Bhima Deva III and Narasingha Deva-I, the Oriya Paikas (peasant militia) sometimes washed their swords stained with the enemy blood in the river of Ganga and at other times in the Kaveri. Narasingha Deva, the builder of the Konarka could be able to crush the Muslim army of Bengal and capture Laksanavati, the then capital city of Gauda. The eulogy of Gangas notes that the tears that trickled from the eyes of the widows of the dead muslims washed the collyrium and turned the water of Ganga into the blue water of Yamuna. The Gangas ruled over Orissa for more than four centuries beginning from the Chodaganga Deva to Bhanu Deva IV (1077-1435-A.D.)

After the down fall of the Gangas, the Gajapati of Surya dynasty assumed the reins of admiration. Kapilendra Deva, the founder of this dynasty, revived the lost glory of Orissa and extended the frontiers of kingdom to the extent what was at the time of Kharavela. The Gajapatis held the renowned titles 'Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara,' which authenticates their martial glory. The Kingdoms like Kanchi, Karnata, Vahamani, Gouda etc. were included into the kingdom of Orissa under the Gajapatis.

The reigns of the Gangas and the Gajapatis was golden age in the martial tradition of Orissa. The army of this time was well organised and powerful. They had more than five lakhs of well trained infantry, sixty thousand cavalry, and three thousand war-elephants.

#### MARTIAL ACTIVITIES OF ORISSA TILL 1961

Though at last Oriyas lost their independence in 1568, the age-old military tradition remained illustrative and inspiring. In the third quarter of the 16th century the administration of Orissa passed on to the hands of Mughals. The old imperial Hindu Dynasty which ended with the death of Gajapati Mukunda Deva (1559-1568 A.D.) again was allowed to continue with rights to enjoy tributes from all principalities south of Mahanadi extending as far down as the southern borders of the present district of Srikakulam in the Andhra Pradesh, with full control over the temple of Lord Jagannatha. From this time to the commencement of the 19th century the Bhois of Khurda were able to uphold the victorious banner of Orissa. They offered violent struggles against the Mughals and the Marathas. Their only concern at this crisis was to protect Lord Jagannatha the symbol of Orissa's sovereignty.

During the struggles with the Mughals, came the Marathas whose only objective was to squeeze money out of the land. Virakesari Deva, the then king of Orissa proved himself unfit to resist the plundering hordes of Marathas. The Marathas placed Divyasingha Deva, the grandson of Virakeshari Deva, on the throne of Khurda and from that time onwards, the martial activities of Oriyas started diminishing.

#### PAIKA - REBELLION

In this process of history the Britishers occupied Orissa in 1803 and imposed their strict administrative shackles over the people. This affected the Paikas most. From time immemorial the Paikas of Orissa have enjoyed free hold jagirs for their maintenance. But the Britishers made attempts to exterminate them from their freehold property. The consequence was a Rebellion, known as the Paika-Rebellion. Half-a-century before the Sepoy Military, the paikas of Orissa could be able to light the torch of freedom.

In the initial period of the British rule in Orissa a few rulers had raised their voice against the powerful British Government. Among them Nilakantha Mardaraj, the king of Haripur and Chandradhvraja, the ruler of Kujanga topped the list. Besides these two notable personability Jai Rajgura and Baxi Jagabandhu were two other illustration freedom fighters.

There was another brave son of Orissa who did a lot in the Sepoy Military of 1857. He was Surendra Sai of Sambalpur, a man of indomitable courage and unending patriotic zeals. He offered guerilla war in the western region against the British till 1861. Captured and imprisoned at last, he died hero in the historic fort of Asirgarh. So also Chakra Bisoi, the valient tribal Kandha leader of Ghumsar who for about a decade became a veritable throne in the flesh of British authorities in South western Orissa and eluded all attempts of capture and died as a free man.

#### MARITIME TRADE ACTIVITIES AND TRADITION

The martial activities and achievements of Orissa as discussed above was not only limited to the land only but also spread over the high seas.

There was a time when Orissa was most prominent among the naval powers of India. The Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela depicts the existence of a navy which was very much accustomed with naval wars. The succeeding age also notes a vigorous development of Oriya people in their maritime affairs. Though there was no evidence about a notable sea-war of Kalinga with any other country it had a very big naval power for the security of her trade activities on the high sea. The merchants of Kalinga since the time of Kharavela had trade relations with a number of Eastern and the Middle Asian countries. New colonies were settled by them in Malaya, Bali, Sumatra, Thailand, Ceylon and many other South Eastern Asian countries.

The story of the pilgrimage of Dantakumara and Hemamala from Dantapura in Kalinga to the island of Simhala, the description of the sea voyages from the port of Tamralipta and Chelitala to Simhala, China and other places as has been narrated by Huenstang in 645 A.D.

The maritime trade of Orissa was flourishing till the commencement of Muslim and Maratha rule when the heavy taxes drained the trading companies. But the naval power of Orissa came to an end after the Britishers occupied Orissa.

#### EVOLUTION OF ORISSAN ARMY

The Orissan army, throughout the ages, have gained ground in different battles. Behind these victories, there was nothing but the disciplined organisation and patriotic zeal. It could be noted from the accounts of Megasthenes that Kalinga had an army comprising of 60 thousand of infantry, one thousand cavalry and many thou-

sands of war-elephants at the time of Maurya Chandragupta. The inscriptions of Asoka also indirectly records about a very big army of Kalinga. The martial power of the Kalinga empire at the time of Kharavela was also very big and an army of six lakhs of soldiers took part in his expeditious.

The soldiers of Orissa were popularly known as Paikas. They were divided into three categories viz, infantry, cavalry and elephant-soldiers. The availability voluminous historical evidences, throws lights on the military organisation in medieval Orissa. The Ganga and Gajapati kings had an army more than five lakhs. Among four divisions of army the elephant corps was the most powerful and invincible, for which the kings of the said dynasties were referred as to 'Gajapati'. The Mukhalingam inscription of Chola-ganga Deva indicates some officials of elephant corps who were known as Gajasahani, Commander of the elephant force and Ravidiya, the elephant trainer.

Like the elephant corps there were the divisions of cavalry and infantry in the Orissan army. The horses collected for the purpose of war were grouped, trained and well equipped for their different use in the war. The cavalry was as big as the divisions of war-elephants. The infantry was a more powerful and disciplined organisation than the other divisions of the Orissan army. The infantry was sub-divided into minor divisions of swordsmen, spearmen, archers and wrestlers. The high officials of the army were Mahasenapati, Senapati, Senani, Chamupati, Dalapati, Bahinipati, Paikaray, Dalabehera, Gadanayak, Nayak etc. But the position, function and the selection procedure of these officials in the army setup have not yet been determined.



The soldiers were appointed in the army without distinction of caste and creed. They were trained and organised by the State. The pay and remuneration were paid to some of them from the State Revenue and some were provided with freehold jagirs. They were awarded titles of honour for their heroic deeds and achievements in the war.

### THE FORTS

Orissa was surrounded like all other contemporary kingdoms of India with a number of forts of different types to check the advance of the enemy. These were built strong and were surrounded

with deep moats, high rocks, deep woods and rivers. The forts well planned and built mainly on border area as well as in big cities and provided with deadly weapons. Among the notable forts of medieval Orissa, Chowdwar, Sarangagad, Barabati, Raivania, Vijayanagar and others (now in Andhra), Mandaran, Khadagpur, Singhapur and others (now in Bengal) have earned fame. So also at the time of the Bhoi kings there were seventy three forts centrally managed and 129 forts built in different parts of Orissa were under the supervision of feudatory chieftains. The military traditions of Orissa, is contributes a glorious chapter to the cultural history of Orissa.



War Horse of Konark.



Though hills, Valleys, jungles and mighty rivers, geographically placed Orissa in an isolated position ; from historical times, it had had cultural and mercantile contacts with the rest of India. The ancient trade routes, roads and high-ways, were the vital links, which sustained this contact. This is a long neglected subject, which has been ably discussed by the author; in the following paper.—*Ed.*

## ROADS & HIGHWAYS IN ORISSA THROUGH AGES

Dr. J. K. SAHU

There are a large number of evidences to prove that Orissa, in the past, had been connected with other regions of India by some well-known routes besides having a good deal of facilities in internal communication. In ancient times, the Indians had given much importance on the cultural and educative values of travelling. The Kuttanimata, for example says that "those who have not travelled and are ignorant of the manners, customs and character of alien peoples and have thus not learned to pay respect to the respectable, are like bulls without horns" (Verse 211). Traders and merchants travelled widely for business and commerce ; scholars and students flocked to important education centres for learning ; pilgrims visited holy places for religious merits ; Brahmin families of North India migrated to the east and the south bent upon spreading the Aryan culture ; kings and generals marched with their armies for wars and conquests. All these tours and travels, marches and migrations show that there existed good roads connecting different regions.

Very little is, however, known about the roads and communication in the earliest period of history. The Mahavagga (1) of the Vinay Pitaka states that two merchant brothers named

Tapussa and Bhallika of Ukkala (Utkala) while going to Madhya-desa with five hundred cart-loads of merchandise met the Buddha at Bodhgaya and they were the first persons to feed him honey. The Chulla Kalinga Jataka(2) describes how four princes of Kalinga travelled in a chariot from Danta Pura through neighbouring kingdoms and at last reached the city of Assaka. Dantapura is described as a flourishing capital of Kalinga in the Kurudhamma Jataka(3), the Kumbhakara Jataka(4) and the Kalinga bodhi Jataka(5). The city is also referred to in the Buddhist work Dathavamsa(6) and the Jaina work Uttaradhyana Sutra(7) Pliny(8) calls the city Dandaguda or Dandagula which was, according to him, situated at a distance of 6,25,000 paces or about five hundred and seventy miles from the mouth of the Ganges. The city is named as Paloura in the Geography of Ptolemy(9) and Dantapura in the Mahabharata(10). It is thus evident that in Pre-Buddha period and also in the Buddha age, Dantapura was not only the capital of Kalinga but also a famous emporium that was connected with other countries and cities with good highways.

During that time, the Western Orissa along with Raipur and Bilaspur Districts of Madhya Pradesh constitu-

ted the country of South Kosala and was ruled over by the Aiksvaka kings who claimed descendancy from Rama of Ayodhya. The Mahabharata speaks of a mass migration from eastern part of Kosala (apparently North Kosala) to the south owing to the terror caused by Jarasandha (11). Pargiter holds that this exodus formed the nucleus with which the territory of South Kosala developed (12). South Kosala was a flourishing kingdom under the Aiksvakas and seems to have been connected by good roads not only with North Kosala but also with all her neighbouring countries. In the Nalopakhyaṇa (13) of the Mahabharata it is stated that king Nala, while wandering in the Vindhya forest with her consort Damayanti, pointed out to her the different routes in the following words:

"This path leads to Vidarbha and that one to Kosala and after this to the south lies Dakshina-Patha"

Both Kalinga and Kosala are said to have been invaded on different occasions by heroes of the Mahabharata and the rulers of both the countries mobilised their respective army to join the great Bharata War; Kalinga on the side of the Kauravas and Kosala on the side of the Pandavas. The Kalinga army consisted of sixty thousands war-chariots and ten thousands elephants (14).

The Astadhyayi (15) of Panini, ascribed to fifth century B.C., refers to the flourishing trade of taitila Janapada. This territory is identified with Titilagarh sub-division of modern Balangir district (16.) The Seri-Vanija Jataka (17) describes the river Telavaha (modern Tel in Kalahandi-Balangir districts) as an important water-route in ancient time. The account of flourishing trade of ancient western Orissa

with other countries is corroborated by the discovery of large hoards of Punch-marked silver coins at Azirgarh of Kalahandi district and Sonepur of Balangir district. Some of these coins are datable to the Pre-Maurya period. They bear on the obverse a group of four symbols resembling closely those of the Bijnor hoard described by Durga Prasad (18) and those of paila hoard described by Walsh (19) On the basis of these evidences, Dr. N. K. Sahu (20) observes that "The Sonepur-Titilagarh region appears to have been connected with towns like Dantapura and pihunda in the region of Kalinga on the one hand and Kausambi and Kasi in ancient Kosala on the other hand during 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

In the middle of the 4th century B.C., Mahapadmananda vanquished the king of Kalinga named Sunanda and the King of the Kosala named Sumitra and annexed their territories to Magadha empire. It is not definitely known as to which road this great Nanda invader followed during his Orissa campaigns. Sri P. Acharya (21) suggest that there where trade and pilgrim routes from the Suvarnarekha valley in Manbhum-Singhbhum and northern Mayurbhanj districts to the Vaitarani Valley in western Mayurbhanj, eastern Keonjhar upto Anandapur and from Anandapur a route ran upto Puri. He thinks that this route was followed by the Nanda King and also by Asoka Maurya and Kharavela after him.

It seems that there was a good road from Pataliputra to Tamralipti which was a flourishing port and from where Asoka bade farewell to his daughter, Theri, Sanghamitra when she sailed to Ceylon with the sappling of the sacred Bo tree (22). In the district of Mayurbhanj, Punch-marked coins of the Maurya period have been discovered at Bahalda region, a large hoard of

Kushan coins belonging to early Christian centuries have been unearthed at Bhanjkia and Khiching whereas some Roman gold coins have been brought to light in Bamanghaty region. This indicates that the district of Mayurbhanj was connected with the port of Tamralipti through ages. It is very likely that Asoka Maurya, during his campaign against Kalinga proceeded from Pataliputra along the Ganges to Tamralipti and then he marched through Mayurbhanj and Balasore to Dhauli where his edicts are found. After defeating the Kalingas, he entered the present Ganjam district and proceeded as far as Kalingas-ghat beyond which there was the land of the Atavikas, the modern western Orissa. In fourth century A.D., Samudragupta, the Gupta monarch, took an altogether different route. during his South Indian campaign. He marched along the river Some into the present Madhya-Pradesh and then on entering Kosala, took the course of the Mahanadi. He proceeded upto Sonapur, the Korala region along the Mahanadi and then, taking the course of the river Tel, got into the Kantara Kingdom which is identified with the territory comprising the north-west portion of Kalahandi and northern part of Baud. From there, he marched towards south-east and probably crossed the Kalinga-ghat to enter Kalinga. The territory of Kalinga, during that period, had been divided into a number of principalities, each under a petty chieftain. Samudragupta passed through atleast three of these principalities namely Pistapura, Kottura and Erandapalla. Of them only Kottura is located in modern Orissa and is identified with Kothoor about twelve miles south of the Mahendra mount in Ganjam district.

In 2nd century A.D., the Mahayana Philosopher Aryadeva is known to have visited the monastery of Nagarjuna at Parimalagiri (the Gandhamardan hill)

of Kosala (23). He proceeded from his native place Simhapura which was the capital of Kalinga and probably travelled through the Kalinga-ghat. In early Christian centuries, Parimalagiri and Muchalinda Buddha Vihara (24) of Kosala were famous Buddhist Universities which attracted students from different parts of India. Both the Viharas were located in modern Padmapur subdivision of Sambalpur district. There must have been some roads for easy approach to these places.

In 4th century A.D., Kalidas refers to a route to Utkala and Kalinga while describing the war campaigns of king Raghu in his "Raghuvamsha" (25). The epic king, after crossing the river Kapisa (modern Kansai in Midnapore district of West Bengal.), marched towards Kalinga through the route, shown by the Utkalas. (Utkaladarsita pathah Kalingabhimukham yayau). In this Kavya, Utkala is mentioned after Sumha and Vanga. It appears that there was a highway connecting Sumha, Vanga, Utkala and Kalinga in A.D. 4th-5th centuries.

In 7th century A.D., Sasanka, king of Karanasuvarna and Harsa, King of Kanauj, in course of their campaigns against Orissa, marched through Dandabhukti (Midnapore and Mayurbhanj) and Sarephahara Visaya (Soro in Balasore) and entered Kongoda country (north Ganjam). They, like Asoka Maurya, seem to have halted at Kalinga-ghat.

The contemporary Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang followed the same route. From Tamralipti, he travelled north-west for above 700 li, to Karnasuvarna and then travelling south-west another 700 li, reached Wu-tu, the Odra country (26). Here he visited the Puspagiri monastery and Charitrapura (Che-li-ta-lo). The latter place was

located near the sea-shore to the south-west of Wu-tu(27) and is identified by Cunningham with the modern township of Puri (28). From Wu-tu, Hieun-tsang journeyed in the south west direction above 1200 li and reached Kongoda (29). From Kongoda, he again proceeded south-west for 1400 or 1500 li and entered Kalinga (30). He then probably crossed the Kalinga-ghat and travelling through jungles and forests above 1800 li reached the kingdom of South Kosala. He went to Andhra (An-to-lo) country from Kosala (31).

It appears from the above description that in very early period, Kalinga and Kosala were linked by highways with Vanga in north, Andhra-desa in the south and Magadha on the west. In between Kalinga and Kosala stood the Kalinga-ghat which served as the gate-way for traders and travellers as well as for invaders and conquerors. The Chalukya King Pulakesin II in 7th century(32), the Rastrakuta King Danti durga in 8th century(33) and Govinda III in 9th century (34) subdued the Kalingas and entered Kosal apparently through the Kalinga ghat.

In 8th century A.D., the Bhaum-Karas came from the north and established their Kingdom in Tosali. In 9th-10th centuries, the Somavamsis and the Kalachuris occupied Kosal from the west. The former extended their territory along the course of river Mahanadi to Coastal Orissa. On the other hand, the Imperial Ganges from coastal Orissa penetrated into Kosal region through the upward course of the Mahanadi.

The epigraphic records of medieval times reveal the names of some important high-roads inside Orissa. The Sumandala Plate(35) refers to Parakhala-Marga Visaya which was a sub-division located probably by the side of the highway named Parakhala. The Kama

Nalinakshapura grant(36) of the Ganga King Samantavarman mentions the name of Dharmaraja Kalinga Marga which was probably named after the great Sailodhava King Dharmaraja. The Baloda charter (37) of Tivaradeva, king of Kosala, registers the donation of a village situated on the side of the highway named Sundarika Marga. The Asankhali grant of Narsimhadeva II reveals the name of a highway as Rajapatha on the side of which was located the village Vamsada.

A large number of copper-plate charters of the Medieval period register grant of villagers or lands in favour of the Brahmans who migrated from other states and settled in Orissa. The migrations of these Brahmanas suggest that Orissa was connected with other parts of India by some inter-state routes during that time. A study of these copper-plates reveals that the Brahmanas migrated to Orissa mostly from Madhya-desa, Sravasti-Mandala and Varendri Mandala. Madhya-desa denoted the upper Ganges Valley which comprised the empire of Harsa in the first half of 7th century A. D. with Kanyakubja (Kanauj) as the capital. The Brahmanas of Madhya-desa are, therefore, known as the Kanyakubjins. Sravasti or Sravasti-mandala is identified with Sahet-Mahet of Uttar-Pradesh. Varendra-mandala was located in north Bengal. Many Brahmanas came to Orissa from a number of other peaces also. Infact, the Brahmana migration supply an important clue for the study of inter-state highways in medieval times.

In 1022-23 A. D., the army of Rajendra Chola proceeding from Vengi entered Orissa territory through Chakrakota-mondala (Bastar district of Madhya-Pradesh). From Bastar, the Cholan marched through Koraput and Kalahandi districts and then taking the

course of the Tel river, reached the Mahanadi at Sonapur. After subduing the Somavamsis at their capital, Yayatinagara, (Jakti), a few miles east of Sonapur, the army proceeded to Dandabhukti, situated in the western Midanpur district of modern West Bengal. A journey from Yayatinagara to Dandabhukti in 11th century A. D. might be taken up by two different routes. In the first route one would follow the upper course of the Mahanadi and proceed towards Viraja and then taking the trade-route through Bhadrakha, Sarephahara (Sore), Sita-binjhi and Khijinga kotta would reach the Dhalbhum territory of the eastern Singhbhum from where Dandabhukti was quite approachable. The second route proceeded from Yayatinagara to Suvarnapura and then crossing the Mahanadi passed through Radhamba palli-Kandara (Rairakhol) to Bonai-mandala and from there to Khijinga-Kotta which was connected with Dandabhukti by some good roads. It appears that the Chola army took the Second route because in their record it is stated that from Yayatinagara which was in Odra-desa near Baud, they came to Kosala-nadu (eastern Kosala) comprising Sambalpur district and Bonai sub-division. After that, they avoided confrontation with the powerful Kalachuris and proceeded through Khijnga-Kotta to Dandabhukti (38) In about 1200 A. D., Dhoyi, the court-poet of Lakshmana Sena of Bengal, wrote his Pavana-Dutam(39) in which he took the wind Messenger in the same route that had been followed by the Chola army in 1022-23 A.D.

The Tabaqat-i-Nasiri(40) reveals that the Sultan of Bengal invaded Orissa in A.D. 1246-47 during the rule of Narasimhadeva I who repulsed the invasion. The Orissa army pursued the enemy from Cuttack to Garh-Mandaran and thence to Lakshanavati of Bengal.

In A.D. 1351, Shams-ud-din Ilyas Shah of Bengal invaded Orissa through this route(41).

Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq made an expedition to Orissa in A.D. 1360. Starting from Jaunpur, he first reached Biharsharif and then, passing through Sikhar in Manbhum and pursuing southward through the defiles of Manbhum and Singhbhum came to Tinanagar (unidentified), thence to Kinyanagar (Khiching) from where passing through Keonjhar, he came to Kalkelghati; from here he went to Cuttack Via Sarangarh, about five miles south-west of it. In his return journey, Firoz followed the upward course of the Mahanadi and through western Orissa and Bilaspur of Madhya Pradesh marched back to Kara(42).

In 1393-94, the Surqi Sultan of Jaunpur invaded Orissa and marched to the Brahmani valley(43) where a hoard of Sarqi coins have been discovered.

In 1422, Hosang Shah came from Mandu in Malwa to Cuttack in the guise of a horse-merchant(44). He appears to have followed the route in the Narbada Valley towards the east to Madhya Pradesh and then taking the course of the Mahanadi entered Orissa.

In 1624, Prince Khurram (Shah-Jahan) during his revolt against his father entered Ganjam from the south and passing through Cuttack, Balasore and Mayurbhanj went to Uttar Pradesh. During the reign of Akbar, Raja Man Singh came to Orissa taking the Malnapur-Jalesore - Bhadrak - Kalkalghat - Cuttack route(45). In the time of Aurangzeb, Khan Daran being directed to take over his new assignment in Orissa, proceeded from Allahabad and first went to Midnapore which was then "the first town after crossing the Orissa border", then to Jalesore and



then to Cuttack(46). The Siyar reveals that all along the highway to Cuttack and Puri, tanks and ponds were constructed by pious Hindus for the benefit of the pilgrims travelling to the temple of Jagannath(47).

The route through which the Marathas as Nagpur penetrated into Orissa is known from various records. In 1743, Raghuji Bhonsla marched to Phuljhar from where he came to Belpada in Daspalla which is situated at the entrance of Barmul pass on the right bank of the Mahanadi. From Belpada, the Marathas came to Padmal after crossing the Mahanadi and then marching through Narasinghpur, Baramba, Tegria and Athgarh which are on the left bank of the Mahanadi, re-crossed the river and reached Cuttack (48). Another route passed through Sonepur to Bhojpur and leaving Sambalpur on the left, it ran to Chhotanagpur and from that place to Amar-kantak and on to Bundel Khand and Chhatrapur towards Nagpur. This route was suggested by Mudoji Bhonsla to the Governor of Bengal when James Anderson and Captain Campbell were to go to Nagpur by way of Cuttack(49).

In 1766. T. Motte was sent by Lord Clive to Sambalpur to explore the possibility of trade in diamond. Motte travelled from Jalesore to Cuttack by the route which was then known as the Badsahi Road. After crossing the Kathjori river near Cuttack, Motte

travelled on the right bank of the Mahanadi upto Baud. After that he passed through the dense forest and came to Rairahakhol reached Sambalpur through Jujumura. (50) In 1790, Leckie followed the same route upto Baud and travelled through Char-chika, Baidyeswar, Padmavati and Cantilo. From Baud, he came to Sonepur and travelling through Dungripali and Salebhata and crossing the river Ang, reached Borasambar region. He then proceeded north-west towards Raipur and Nagpur(51). The Route followed by Leckie from Sonepur to Nagpur appears a little circuitous. Sometimes before him, Rani Ahalya Bai had been to Puri on a pilgrimage from Nagpur and she passed through Raipur, Sahela, Barpali. Ranpur, Binka and Sonepur. This was the common route for traders and pilgrims from Nagpur to the coastal Orissa in the 18th century.

Orissa was conquered by the British in 1803. They attached great importance on the development of transport and communication for their administration. Therefore, they connected all important places of the State by National Highways, State highways and other roads under the supervision of Public Works Department. After independence the National Government accelerated the work with greater vigour through Community Development Department and Gram Panchayats. No part of modern Orissa is now isolated for want of roads.

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Orissa has a rich variety of wildlife. The author in the following article discusses the various species of wild life of Orissa, also the sanctuaries, which have come to be established in the meantime, for preservation of wildlife.—*Ed.*

## WILDLIFE IN ORISSA

DR. B. K. BEHURA

Orissa is a part of the peninsular India, as a Zoogeographical area. Its animals are more varied and colourful than the inhabitants with diverse tribes, castes, customs, languages and dialects.

The State consists of thirteen district. Each district has forest areas which are inhabited by various species of wild animals. Orissa is famous for its rich and varied fauna. In the forests of all the thirteen districts live the tiger, leopard, Jungle cat, small Indian civet, striped hyaena, fox, wild dog, sloth bear, giant squirrel, porcupine, bison, common hare, nilgai, Sambar, spotted deer, barking deer, mouse deer, wild bear and pangolin.

Orissa is famous for its elephants since the time of Kurukshetra war (c 5561 B.C.) when the king of "Kalinga" fought with his army of elephant riders. Emperor Gajapati Kapilendra Deva (1435-1466 A.D.) had an army of elephant riders numbering two lakhs. Still the titular Raja of Puri is known as "Gajapati" (Lord of elephants). In 1953 the then ruler of Talcher killed a rogue elephant which was 5.38m. high at the shoulder and each tusk measured 2.59m outside the curve and weighed 41.73 kilograms.

The elephants of Orissa are mainly restricted to the districts of Mayurbhanj, Kendujhar, Dhenkanal, Ganjam, Phulbani, Sambalpur (Deogarh and Bamra) and Puri (near Balugaon). A census of elephants of Orissa carried out in 1979 places the figure at 2,044.

At one time wild buffaloes were quite plentiful in the Sundergarh district. The last surviving bull was killed in 1906. Report has it that the last four surviving wild buffaloes of the forest of Balangir were exterminated in 1948. During recent years two herds used to roam the deep swampy forests of Balimela in Koraput in Khariar, Kalahandi district and the adjoining forests of Bastar district in Madhya Pradesh. Hardly two or three solitary bulls are believed to exist today.

The magnificent blackbuck (Krushna-sara) which used to be seen in large herds in several areas of the State have become scarce. They have disappeared from the Sara lake area in the district of Puri and from the Sambalpur district. They occur in depleted numbers in the districts of Balasore, Puri, Ganjam and Kalahandi. At Bhetanoi, a village about nine kilometres from the town of Aska in Ganjam, a herd of black bucks live in open country protected by the local villagers for generations for sentimental

reasons. A census of black bucks in the herd was undertaken in 1973 and 1980 and the figures are 573 and 485 respectively. In Pursottampur of Ganjam district another herd consisting of 99 black bucks (census in March 1981) also survive.

The four horned-entelope (Charisinga) was once quite common in the princely states of West Orissa. Now they occur in small numbers in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal, Sambalpur, Cuttack and Puri.

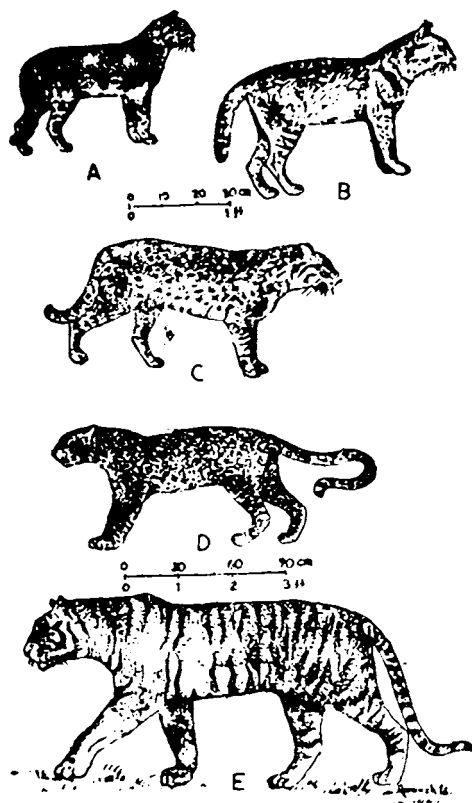
The Fishing Cat (*Felis viverrina*) measures about 75cm and its tail is about 30cm long. It inhabits deep forests up to 1525m. in the Himalayas and the swamps at the base of these mountains. It has been reported from parts of Bengal and Uttar Pradesh, and the creeks and back waters of the Malabar coast between Mangalore and Cape Comorin. It is interesting to note that the Fishing Cat does not conter water. It crouches on a rock or overhanging bank and with a blow of its paw scoops up fish. It preys on animals and birds much larger than itself and is even known to kill calves, sheep and dogs. Report has it that the Fishing Cat inhabits the Kendujhar district.

The Wolf is now extremely rare and is sighted in the districts of Sambalpur, Koraput, Mayurbhanj and Bonai area of Sundergarh.

The ratel (Gada bhalu) once common in the forests of the Western parts of the State are confined to Puri, Ganjam and Mayurbhanj districts.

The Flying squirrel occurs in the forests of the districts of Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal, Sambalpur and Bonai area of Sundergarh.

The Swamp deer (Barasingha) has become extinct from the Sambalpur

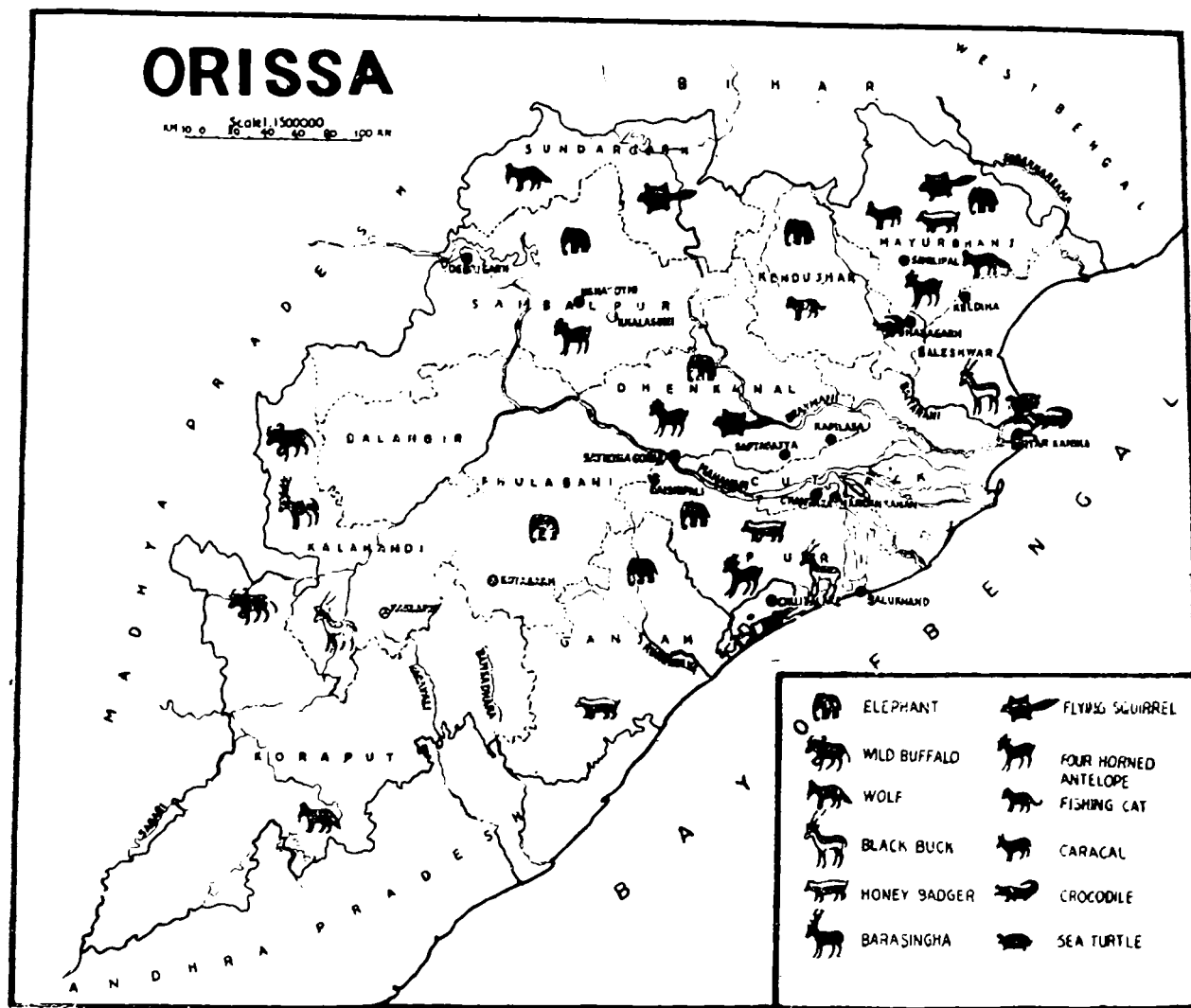


Some wild cats of Orissa forests: A-Leopard cat (Baghata); B-Jungle cat (Banabhua); C-Fishing cat; D-Leopard (Kalarapatria bagha) E-Tiger (Bagha).

district and is fighting for survival in the Sunabeda Plateau of Koraput District.

Various species of bats abound in the State. The flying fox is the largest of Indian bats with a wing span of 122cm. It is a common sight to find them hanging from tall trees during the day and flying about at dusk with slow movements of the wing. They feed exclusively on fruits causing extensive damage to orchards. about, half an hour after sunset they fly out in single file from their roosting places and cover long distances in search of food. They breed once a year and bring forth young ones in the first part of February after a gestation period of 140-150 days.

Other fruit-eating bats include the Fulvous fruit bat (*Rousettus heschenaulti*,



Map of Orissa showing the distribution of some endangered wild animals and the location of wild life sanctuaries. The 17 sanctuaries cover a total area of 5361.962 sq.km.

length of head and body 127mm+tail 18mm) and the Short-nosed fruit bats *Cynopterus sphinx* and *Cynopterus marginatus*.

The Beared Sheath-tailed bat (*Taphozous melanopogon*; length of head and body 79mm+tail 25mm) live in the crevices of old houses and temples. When 5-6 months old, there is growth of 'beard' in males. These bats do not hang down with their hind legs, but cling to the wall with the arms and legs. They feed on insects and are good fliers.

The Indian false vampire (*Megaderma lyra*) lives in the hollow of bamboo of thatched houses in Orissa. Their usual habitat elsewhere is old houses, unused wells and caves. They food on insects, frogs, lizards, small birds and mice. They live in groups.

The Pipistrelle, *Pipistrellus mimus* measuring 46mm in length lives in cowsheds and the yellow bat, *Scotophilus temminski wroughtoni* enters dwelling houses in the evening. Two species of Mouse tailed bat, *Rhinopoma harwicki*



and *Rhinopoma kinneari* occur in the temples and old houses.

The dolphin found in the waters of Chilika Lake is scientifically known as *Orcaella brevirostris* and is quite different from the Gangetic dolphin, *Platanista indi* inhabiting the rivers Ganga, Brahmaputra and Indus. The Gangetic dolphin is blind. The dolphin of Chilika lake has discontinuous distribution and is known to frequent the Irrawadi river in Burma.

## BIRDS

The State abounds in birds in variety and number. The resident or locally migratory birds include the Grey pelican, herons, egrets, storks, spoonbills, kites, vultures, falcons, kestrel, shikra, waterhen, ibis, swallow, drongo, skylarks, wagtails, jacana, moorhen, drongo, lapwings, kingfishers, doves, owls, tree pie, crow pheasant, mynas, crow, koel, palm, swift bee eater, hopoe, babbler, blue jay, tailor bird, warbler, sparrow, flycatcher, barbet, darter, cormorant, Indian robin, kites and munia. The winter visitors include stints, sand pipers, plovers, shanks, stilt, godwit, snipe, avocet, gulls, harriers, flamingoes, plovers, terns, knot, turnstone, curlew and various species of ducks as, widgeon, shoveller, gadwall, garganey, teal, pockards, pintail duck, greylag goose, barheaded goose, Brahminy duck and spot bill duck.

## REPTILES

Orissa is the only state in which all the three species of crocodilians occurring in India still exist. The Gharial, once abundant in river Mahanadi, especially in Satkosia gorge at Tikerpada is the most endangered among the three species. It is found in depleted numbers at Satkosia and in river Sileru in Koraput district. The

Marsh crocodile or Mugger live in freshwater swamps, tanks, lakes and rivers. A few occur in Satkosia gorge area of Mahanadi. The Estuarine crocodile inhabits the coastal mangrove forests of Bhitarkanika.

Three species of monitor lizards are found in Orissa, viz., the common monitor (Godhi), the yellow monitor (Sorishia godhi) and the water monitor (Pani godhi). The water monitor *Varanus salvator* is the most active and dangerous egg-eating predators of the estuarine crocodile.

Various species of lizards are found in Orissa. They include the common "blood sucker" (Endua) *Calotes versicolor*, the smaller garden lizards *Sitana ponticerrana*, the Agamid, *Pseudomorphus blanfordianus*, the true chameleon, *Chamaeleon zeylanicus* (Pohala endua, Maka sapa), the skink *Mabuya carinata* (Champeineula) and the house lizard *Hemidactylus flaviviridis* (Jhitipiti).

The Pacific turtle (*Lepidochelys olivacea*), an endangered species, comes ashore at Gahiramatha Coast of Bay of Bengal, in Bhitarkanika in large numbers (more than 2,00,000) during January-March to lay eggs.

The Green Turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) an edible marine species, is found in the Chilika Lake and is also an endangered species.

The Freshwater tortoise *Kachuga tectum tentoria* (Katha-Kainch) occurs in the river Mahanadi. The common freshwater and mud turtles include *Lissemys punctata granosa* (Bali Kaincha) which also occurs in the river Mahanadi. It is edible and is sold in the market of Jaleswar @ Rs. 7.50 per kilogram.

Orissa abounds in various species of snakes, and is also known for her "snake charmers". The common poisonous snakes include the binocellate

and monacellate cobra (Gokhara and Tampa), Russel's viper (Chandraboda), Common krait (Chiti) and the Banded Krait (Rana). The king cobra (Ahiraj, Sankhachuda, Marichuda) is found in deep forest, plains and mangrove forests. It is not uncommon in Bittar Kanika. The Sawscaled viper (Dhulinaga) occurs in small numbers in restricted areas. The Green pit viper (Katakati naga) is common in Balimela area of Koraput and in Banpur area of Puri district. The common green whip snake (Laudanka sapa) is believed to be doubtfully poisonous and is often found on hedges. It has the peculiar habit of jumping on to the eye of persons moving under overhanging branches. The common non-poisonous snakes include the rat snake (Dhamana), the cat snake (Dalua-naga) and the Checkered Keelback (Panidhanda) which when cornered inflict vicious bites. The Python (Ajagara) once common in our forests is becoming scarcer. Under the Wild Life (Protection) Act, 1972 the killing, capturing and possession of skin of the python is totally prohibited. Of the harmless snakes, mention may be made of the worm-snakes (Telia sapa), Striped keelback (Mati birali), John's sand boa (Domundia), Red Earth boa (Keonjhar-Nandu, Deogarh-Matimandu, Bargarh and Sambalpur-Phutka), the common wolf snake and the Kukri snake.

## CONSERVATION

After independence and the merger of the princely states, there has been unrestricted poaching of animals for venison, hide and horns. The animals protected under the princely rulers have been slaughtered and 'Mela Shikar' of Adivasis have rung the death bell of many animals like the wild buffalo and the bison. During recent years, a large number of sanctuaries has been established for the conservation of the vani-

shing wild life. A brief description about each is given here under.

### 1. BALUKHAND

Covering an area of 12.5 sq. km. it lies on the North-East of Puri at a distance of 7 km. The sanctuary was established in 1935 for the conservation of blackbuck and spotted deer.

### 2. CHANDAKA

It covers an area of 30 sq. km. and is located in the district of Puri. It was established in 1935. The Principal wild mammals of the sanctuary are elephants, tigers, leopards, Sambars, spotted deer, barking deer and sloth bears. Due to the nearness of the sanctuary to Bhubaneswar and Cuttack poaching has been rampant and the animals are fast becoming rare in the sanctuary.

### 3. DEBRIGARH

It covers an area of 15 sq. km. and is located in the Barapahad sub-division of Sambalpur. It was established in 1932. The common wild mammals seen in the sanctuary are the tiger, leopard, gaur and Sambar.

### 4. KHALASUNI

It covers an area of 115 sq. km. in the Rairakhol sub-division of Sambalpur. The area was declared a sanctuary in 1962 and the wildlife consists of the elephant, spotted deer, Sambar and Indian bison.

### 5. SATAKOSIA GORGE

It covers an area of 795.52 sq. km. and was declared a Sanctuary in 1976. The gorge area of river Mahanadi of Tikerpada consists of 22 km. and on both sides of the river are high mountains varying from 600 to 900 m. The sanctuary covers forests of Angul, Rairakhol, Nayagarh and Phulbani. At one time, gharials in large numbers

lived in the gorge of the river. The population has dwindled to seven. A Gharial Research and Conservation Unit functions at Tikerpada. The principal wild mammals and birds of the sanctuary are the tiger, leopard, sloth bear, wild dog, porcupine, elephant, sambar, chital, barking deer, mouse deer, gaur, wild boar, hornbill, jungle fowl and peacock.

#### 6. USHAKOTHI

It covers an area of 192 km. and was declared a Sanctuary in 1962. It is situated in the Bamra sub-division of Sambalpur. The common wild mammals inhabiting the sanctuary are the tiger, leopard, wild boar, elephant, sambar, chital, muntjac and bison.

#### 7. KAPILASA

The sanctuary covers an area of 126.10 sq. km. and was established in 1970. The wild mammals living in the forest are leopard, sambar, chital, bison and elephant.

#### 8. SAPTASAJYA

It covers area of 20.97 sq. km. and was established in 1970. The wild mammals are the elephants, bison, leopard, sambar, spotted deer, sloth bear and wild bear.

#### 9. KARLAPAT

It was established in 1969 and covers an area of 145 sq. km. The principal wild mammals inhabiting the area are the tiger, panther, elephant, gaur, sambar and chital.

#### 10. CHILIKA LAKE

The entire Chilika Lake covering an area of 206 sq. km. was declared a sanctuary in 1973. During winter long range migrants come here in large numbers. Between 1st February and 28th March 1981, biologists of the Avi-fauna

project, Bombay Natural History Society ringed 2175 birds belonging to 52 species. During the period, they identified 95 different species of migratory, locally migratory and resident birds in the Lake area.

#### 11. BHITARA KANIKA

The Sanctuary comprises of 161.76 sq. km of mangrove forests on the shore of Bay of Bengal. The Principal animals are the leopard, leopard cat, striped hyaena, jungle cat, wild bear, sambar and spotted deer. King cobra are quite common. At Dangmal there is a Saltwater Crocodile Research Unit where crocodile eggs are collected, incubated and the young ones reared until they attain a length of 1.2 metre and released in the creeks for restocking in nature as their number is depleted.

#### 12. SIMILIPAL

The Similipal hills were declared a sanctuary in 1969. Of the 11th tiger reserves located in 10 States under Project Tiger, to save the tiger from extinction, one is located here covering a core area of 303 sq. km. A census of tigers in Orissa 1979 puts the populations at 173. The wild animals of the area are the tiger, panther, leopard cat, elephant, gaur, chital, chevrotain, sambar, muntjac, fourhorned antelope, porcupine, sloth bear, pangolin, hyaena, large Indian civet, toddy cat, rufous tailed hare, common giant, flying squirrel, indian giant squirrel, ratel, wild boar and wild dog. Mugger (*Crocodilus palustis*) was once common in the rivers of Khairi and Budhabalanga. In order to conserve the freshwater crocodile species, a Mugger Conservation and Research Unit has been established at Ramatirth in the Tiger Reserve. Mugger hatchings and young brought from Tamilnadu were reared

here until they attained a length of 1 metre or more and sixty were released into the Budhabalanga river in the Similipal hills in April, 1981 for restocking in nature.

Various species of birds like the pea fowl, large pied hornbill, large greater hill myna, grey partridge, black partridge, rain quail, common quail, painted spur fowl and red spur fowl live in the forests. The King cobra and the python also occur.

### 13. KULDIHA

It covers an area of 25sq. km. and was established in 1974. The principal wild mammals of the area are the elephant, gaur, sambar and chital.

### 14. HADAGARH

It covers an area of 191 sq. km which includes the water reservoir formed due to the construction of a dam on river Salandi at Hadagarh in the district of Keonjhar and the surrounding forest area. It was declared a sanctuary in 1979. The wild mammals living in the area are the elephant, leopard, spotted deer, sambar, nilgai, barking deer and wild bear. It is

intended to release mugger crocodiles into the reservoir to conserve them.

### 15. NANDAN-KANAN

It covers an area of 4 262 sq. km. and located at a distance of 18 km from Bhubaneswar, the State's capital. The Nandankanan biological park was established in 1960 and constitutes the sanctuary. The stock of different animals on the 1st April, 1980 was 273 mammals belonging to 53 species, 505 birds of 52 species and 97 reptiles of 11 species. The black panther and white tigers born in the park form an added attraction to the Zoo-gardens.

Besides the above, a few other areas have recently been declared as sanctuaries, e.g. Baishipali in Puri and Kotagarh in Phulbani district.

The Wild life (Protection, Orissa) Rules were enacted in 1974. A Chief Wild Life Warden looks after the conservation of wild life in the State.

Laws and Rules do not reach the common man. It is only public consciousness which can save the already dwindling fauna and flora of Orissa.

Orissa, though beyond the pale of Sanskrit culture, has greatly contributed to the rich heritage of Sanskrit literature. The author, an erudite scholar in Sanskrit, in the following article discusses Orissa's contribution to Sanskrit literature, based on the palm-leaf manuscripts, preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar.—*Ed.*

## CONTRIBUTION OF ORISSA TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

NILAMANI MISHRA

Vishnu Sarma, the court poet and royal priest of Anant Sakti Verma of Mather dynasty composed the world famed Panchatantra. Prior to this Upanishads of the Atharva Veda traditions and Paipalad Samhitas were written in plenty in Orissa. Beginning with this an unbroken chain of succession in compositions on palmleaves have followed in Orissa up to the present Century. Palmleaves are available in abundance in Orissa and these provide easy material for the scribes on which they engraved with a stylus. Bhurja bark which was common in India as a writing material was not prevalent here. It is not easy to cut a square patterned letter or letters carrying a flat head on the palmleaf and as a result circumlinear scripts such as Bengali, Gujrati, Sharada, Gurmukhi, Newari do not get into the sphere of the scribes, on the other hand the Oriya script is curvilinear. Though it is not impossible to scribe on wooden planks or copper plates, still it is not feasible and naturally we find only manuscripts in palmleaf.

In the first half of the 19th Century after the British occupation of Orissa our great stock of palmleafmss were first exposed to western scholars. The writings published in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal of Rev. J. Long

in 1859 A.D. on the palmleaf manuscripts available in Bhubaneswar and its suburbs is perhaps the first in the history of research on palmleafmss. Colonel Makenji had been attracted towards the palmleafmss. and had collected a few from Ganjam and Koraput districts which are now preserved in the Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras; Adyar Manuscripts Library, Madras and Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore. John Beams, while he was Collector, Balasore before 1871 A.D. had worked on palmleaf which are appended to Hunters' Orissa Vol. II. His paper on 'Rasakallola' published in Indian Antiquary Vol. I is a valuable research in this field. R. L. Mitra the famous Archaeologist had collected a large number of palmleaf manuscripts from Orissa and had published a report "Notices of Manuscripts preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal before 1898 A. D." M. M. Chakravarty had also collected a good number of manuscripts and his discussions had been published in Asiatic Society Journal in 1898 A. D. Mahamahopadhyaya H. P. Shastri in collaboration with Prof. Macdonald had located more than a lakh of manuscripts in several Maths and private houses in Puri and its adjoining villages, the report of which has been published in the journal of



Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. XIX. Besides those who have contributed to the field of research are K. P. Jayaswal and A. P. Bannerjee Sastri.

With the emergence of Orissa as a separate province attempts were made for the collection of palm leaf manuscripts by the education department, Ravenshaw College Museum at the initiative of late Prof. G. S. Dash and Prof. N. Banerjee, and by Prachi Samiti with Artaballabha Mohanty at its lead. Bichhande Charan Patnaik, Paramananda Acharya, the erstwhile archaeologist of Mayurbhanj State, Purna Chandra Rath, the historian of Bolangir and Kedar Nath Mohapatra, the then archaeologist of Kalahandi State had individually contributed substantially for the enrichment of palm leaf manuscript collections.

#### ORISSA COLLECTIONS

Sometimes in 1950 A.D. at the initiative of Paramananda Acharya, the then Superintendent of Orissa State Museum and Kedar Nath Mohapatra, the then Curator, a separate section for manuscripts was opened in the Orissa State Museum, which now has grown to a huge establishment with more than forty thousand manuscripts. This collection comprises of twenty seven sections dealing with Vedas, Tantras, Dharma Sastras, Darshanas, Yotisa, Ayurvedas, Abhidhanas, Vyakaranas, Kavyas etc. Besides the State Museum, the Sambalpur University and Berhampur University have their individual manuscript collections. These institutions are also campaigning for collection of manuscripts. On private initiatives the Raghunandan Library at Puri and Banchanidhi Library at Nayagarh are also on the move of collection.

#### RARE MANUSCRIPTS

The rare acquisition of the State Museum are the Bhasya of Sayana on the Yajurveda, the mantra portions of Paipalada branch in the Athrvaveda, Angirasa Kalpa, a large number of Upanishads. These manuscripts are not found in other parts of India.

Orissa was famed as an important centre of Tantric cult from 6th century A.D. The first Odiyan Pitha was in Orissa which can be testified from the scriptures. The presiding deities of Tantra system, Bhairava and Bhairavi are identified as Vimala and Jagannath Besides, the Goddesses Mangala, Bhagavati, Bhadrakali, Charchika, Bhattarika, Samalai, have immense influence in Orissa. All these might have paved the way for composition of Tantra manuscripts' Uddisa Tantra, Oddiyana; Tantra, Udubhaswara Tantra, Oddamaresvara Tantra Though these do not bear any names of scribes are believed to have been written in Orissa which can be testified from the naming and subject matter of the manuscripts. Apart from this, many novel additions have been found in Sankhyayana Tantra, Yogini Tantra, Kumari Tantra Kumar Tantra and Yoni Tantra, which have relevance to their being scribed in Orissa. Bhuvanewari Pallav dedicated to Gajapati Purusottama Deva, Sarada Saradorchana Paddhati, Yantra Chintamani of Godavara Mishra, Sakti pratima Pratihtha of Vidyakar Vajpei, Durgotsava Chandrika of vardhana Mohapatra, Tarinikula Sudha Tarangini of Ramachandra Udgata, Durga Yajana Dipika of Jagannatha Acharya, Bhuvanewari Prakash of Basudeva Rath, Vanadurga Puja of Raghunatha Das, Sivarchan Paddhati and Jnanavalli Tantra of Lakshesvara Rath are famous as Tantrika texts in Orissa.

## SANSKRIT PURANAS

It is not easy to identify the Sanskrit Puranas composed in Orissa. In Skanda Purana and in few other Puranas the mention of "Utkal Khanda" presupposes their relation to Orissa. Besides, Niladri Mahodaya, Niladri Chandrika, Tirtha Chintamani, Mukti Chintamani, Ekamra Purana, Ekamra Chandrika, Svarnnadri Mahodaya, Kapila Samhita, Viraja Mahatmya, Soura Samuchaya also deal with Puranic aspects in Orissa.

## DHARMA SHASTRA

The contribution of Oriya Scholars to the field of Dharmashastra in India is commendable. The Oriya compositions have special significance with relation to Orissa dealing with the different religious rites. Beginning with 10th and 11th centuries up to 18th century the Pundits of Orissa have written a number of texts on canons, Customs, Fairs, Festivals, Pilgrim centres, Worship and Sraddha ceremonies. These in course of time have come to be regarded as the law book or Niti Shastra by the rulers and guide book for common mass. Among them Satananda Samgraha of Setananda Acharya, Agnistoma Paddhati of Sambhukar Mishra, Adbhuta Sagara of Yogisvara, Patra, Achara Pradip of Narasimha Vajapei, Smruti Sara Sangraha of Visvanath Mishra, Kaladipa and Sraddhadipa of Divyasimha Mahapatra, Sraddha Nirnnaya, Utpata Tarangini of Raghunath Dasa, Kalasara and Acharasara of Gadadhara Rajguru are the unique contributions of Oriya Scholars to the Indian Dharmashastras.

## PHILOSOPHY

In the field of Indian Philosophy, the Oriya Philosophers have equally gained popularity. Beginning with Buddhist Philosopher Dharmakirti up to the exponents of the six cannons of Philosophy, Kavidindima Jivadevacharya, Narasimha Vajapei, Gaudiya Philosopher

Baladev Vidyabhusan have enriched this field. Although mention of a number of names are available in Orissa, only the Govinda Bhasya of Baladev Vidyabhusana is handed down to us in its entirety. From a saying of Nrusimha Vajapei it is known that he had been awarded at the Delhi Courts for his knowledge in logic and he was being treated as the most erudite scholar in Mimamsa :

"मीमांसाकानां धुरि कीर्तनयो वेदान्तवेदी सुकविः स्मृतः ।

विद्यासु योज्यतादश प्रदीपं निर्माय योगेन जगाम सिद्धिम् ॥"

दिल्लीश्वरं यः परितोष्य वाग्भिः

विद्याभिरष्टादशभिः प्रवीणः ।

मुकुन्ददेवस्य प्रशस्तवाचः

समानयत् सर्वजनस्य मध्ये ॥"

(Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. Mss.

Vol. I Page 23)

## ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

Both in Astronomy and Astrology the Orissan scholars have shone brighter. Satananda Ratnamala of Satananda Acharya in 11th century A.D. Sisubodhini of Dayanidhi Nanda Balabodha Ratnakaumudi of Chhakadi Nanda, Palaka Panjika of Dhananjaya Acharya, Saptanga Grantha Samgraha; Panchasvara of Prajapati Dasa, Jyotisa Sara Samgraha of Dasaratha Mishra; Ravindu Grahana of Gadadhara Patnaik, Ayurdaya Kaumudi of Gajapati Narayana Dev, Graha Chakra of Maguni Pathy and above all Siddhanta Darpana of Mahamohopadhyaya Chandra Sekhar Singh Samanta are the jewels in the field of Astrology and Astronomy.

## AYURVEDA

Nidana the famous text on Ayurveda of Madhav Kara is presumed to have been composed in Orissa. The works—Pathyapathyavinischaya Chikistanrava, Ayurveda Samgraha of Visvanath, a contemporary of Gajapati Prataprudra

Deva had been acclaimed countrywide. Besides, Ayurveda, Lilavati and Vaidya Kalpalata of Raghunath Dasa, Bhima Samhita of Bhima Dasa, Vaidya Shastra Boli of Krishna Dasa, Chikitsa Manjari of Gopinatha Patra, Salihotra of Dinabandhu Harichandan are wide famed books in the sphere of Oriya Physicians.

Oriya Dictionaries which were composed in Orissa also deserve special mention. Trikanda Sesha, Haravali of Purusottama Deva of 9th century A.D. and Medini Kosha of Medini Kara had won recognition in India. Apart from these two Mugdhabodha Abhidhana of Mayurbhanja, Commentaries on Amarkosha of Raghunath Dasa, Mahidhara Mishra, Jaydev Vahinipati and Gitavidhana of the renowned poet Upendra Bhanja are each a documentary literary evidence of the Oriya scholars in Sanskrit scholarship.

Siddhant Kaumudi based on the analogies of Panini is not very much prevalent in Orissa. The Oriya grammarians have simplified the Panini and have contributed a large number of grammar texts. Among them Jumar Vyakarana of Jumar, Siddhant Chandrika of Rambhadra, Sarasvata Vyakarana of Anubhuti Svarupacharya. Probodh Chandrika of Vaijala Deva, Nama Nirmaladarpana of Lakshmidhar Udgata, Sara Samgraha, Vardhanana Prakash, Katantra Vistarakshepa Nigudharth Prakash of Raghunath Dasa, Katantra Vistara Paribhasa of Kavindu Jayadeva, Karaka Samasa Manjari of Jagannath Dasa etc. are notable Grammars of Orissa.

#### KAVYAS

Manuscripts on Sanskrit Kavya are no less in Orissa. It has been already referred to Vishnu Sharma the great poet whose stories had been widely

acclaimed. He was a resident of Kalinga and was the contemporary of Anant Sakti Verma of Mathar dynasty. Panchatantra has been translated into several languages of the world. Panchatantra contains the descriptions of rivers, riverines, sea shores, forests and elephant herds of Kalinga and this makes it quite significant, which has no bearing on any other part of India. Out of the Sanskrit Dramas "Anargha Raghava Nataka" had gained immense popularity. With a deviation in the text from the original "Valmiki Ramayana" this has a speciality of its own. The scholars are of the opinion that the writer of Anargha Raghava Nataka is Murari who is known as Murari Mishra in Orissa. With a benediction to the Lord Jagannath in the beginning he has mentioned in the dialogues of Sutradhara about the date of composition of this drama probably during Rath Yatra. Had Murari not belonged to Orissa a reference to Jagannath could not have been in his compositions. Apart from this, a large number of palm leaf manuscripts on Anargha Raghava are also available in Orissa which testify its author's relationship with this land. The out-standing lyric, Gita Govinda was composed by the celebrated poet Jayadeva. The first commentator of this lyric has been equally famous. Following the style of Gita Govinda a number of lyrics have been composed in Orissa. Out of this 'Abhinava Gita Govind' dedicated in the name of Gajapati Purusottam Deva, Rukminisa Vilasa dedicated in the name of Narayana Bhanja, Jagannatha Ballabha Nataka composed by the Vaishnava poet Raya Ramananda Pattanaik, Mukunda Vilasa of Raghuttoma Tirtha belonging to Banapur, Sivalilamruta and Krishnalilamruta of Nityananda belonging to Nayagarh and Gita Sita Ballabha of Sitikantha deserve mention in this context.

The great epic Ramayan and Mahabharata of Valmiki and Vyasa are the two most important Puranas whose fame had reached far and wide. Basing on the text of these two epics a large number of Kavyas and other literary works have been composed in all India level. Similarly in Orissa the Oriya scholars have also followed the same path. Bharatamruta Mahakavya comprising of 48 chapters following the texts of Mahabharata of Kavichandra Divakara Mishra, Bhakti Bhagavata Mahakavya in the light of the Bhagavata of Jivadevacharya and Dasagriva Vadha Mahakavya in the pattern of the Ramayana of Kavindra Markandeya Mishra have been composed in Orissa. Besides this a number of Oriya poets have composed several Puranic and imaginary thematic works which still await publications. When these works will be brought to light these will undoubtedly create sensation in the literary sphere.

Oriya scholars are expert commentators which can be testified from the works of Purusottama Mishra, Gopinatha Rath, Lokanatha Dikshit, Raghunath Dasa and others, who have written commentaries on the famous Sanskrit Kavyas.

### POETICS

Keeping balance with other aspects of literature, Oriya scholars have equally made inroads into Sanskrit poetics. The Sahitya Darpana of Mahapatra Biswanath Kaviraja is a much praised work in the world. Apart from this Dhvani Siddhanta Samgraha and Kavya-prakash Dipika of Mahamahopadhyaya Chandi Dasa, Kavya Prakash Darpana of Viswanath Kaviraj, Kavya Prakash Vivarana of Viswanath Samantraya, Sahityadarsa of Lokanath Dikshit, Alamkara Chintamani of Ramchandra Khadgaray, Kavi Chintamani of Gopinath Patra and Sahitya Bhusana of Raghu-

natha Dasa were also composed in Orissa. In the sphere of Sanskrit Chhandas, Ganga Dasa's Chhanda Manjari, Raghunath Dasa's Vruttavali and Kalidasa Chayani's Srutavodha are a selected few which have been recognised.

### MUSIC

Like Kavyas, the musical texts also claim antiquity. The Oriya poet who first experimented the use of music in a traditional Sanskrit lyrics is Acharya Jayadeva. This presupposes the prevalence of music in the country prior to Jayadeva. So it is expected of the Oriya authors who have contributed considerably to the field of music. From the mode of collections of these texts it is presumed that Southern Orissa and Puri were the main centres of this culture where regular musical performance along with its textual deliberations were being held. Even from the times of Bharata Muni, Orissa had a special preference for music. The Natya sastras of Bharata Muni which gives a special credence to the Udra style of music does never make committance of Bharata Muni's affiliations to Orissa. It is a sheer irony of fact that the old Sanskrit manuscripts dealing with music texts are not available in Orissa. The musical Sanskrit texts that are available in Orissa only belong to the later part of the medieval times. There is mention of Udra style of music in Bharata Muni's Natya Sastras. This presupposes the prevalence of music during this time. The musical Sanskrit texts available in Orissa include Samgita Kaumudi, an anonymous work, Samgitasara by Harinayak Gita Prakash a work of Krishna Das, Sangita Kalpalata composed by Haladhar Mishra, Tala Survasva by Kavi Chandra Purusottama Mishra, Sangita Sarani written by Narayana Mishra are famous. Besides Samgita Narayana of Jagannath Narayana Deva the king of Paralakhemindi,

Natya Manorama and Samgitarnnava Chandrika of Raghunath Ratha have been acclaimed high.

Orissa, where a large number of temples, sculptures, caves and monuments stand to proclaim a glorious indigenous school of Art presupposes the existence of a rich literatures dealing with the technicalities of Art and Architecture. But only a few manuscripts dealing with architectural texts are available.

Leaving apart the four Southern Languages, Oriya has a celebrated place in the hierarchy of Indian languages. Beginning with 9th and 10th centuries and till the latter part of 19th century, the literary monument that have been built by the Oriya scholars are unprecedented in any other regional languages of the country. The developments of Oriya scripts have been commenced from 6th century resulting in its fulfilment in 12th century. The Natha and Siddha literatures are the earliest works in Oriya. Out of the eighty-four Siddhas Sarahpa, Kanhupa and few others have composed in Oriya and even today a number of palm leaf manuscripts bearing the name of Gorakhanath and Adinath are available in Orissa.

#### ORIYA LITERATURE

Serious writings in Orissa started with 14th and 16th centuries during the times of the Solar Dynasty Gajapatis. The demand for Mahabharatas and Ramayanas in Oriya grew at this time and the demand could be met substantively, by the Oriya Mahabharata of Sarala Dasa. Sarala Dasa as he claims for himself a lowly peasant status could compose the voluminous Mahabharata of eighteen parts, giving therein all the details of Orissan rivers, pilgrim centres, its hills, customs and

manners prevalent in Orissa. Though it is not an exact translation of Sanskrit Mahabharata it can claim originality and distinction.

Other works; Saptakanda Ramayana, Chandi Purana and Vilanka Ramayana of Sarala Dasa are also available in Orissa. The other authors who have composed in the traditions of Sarala are Purusottama Dasa, Krushna Singh, Jagannath Dasa, Kapilesvara Nanda, Gopinath Das etc.

Balaram Dasa's Jagamohana Ramayana is another monumental work like the Mahabharata of Sarala Dasa. Jagamohan Ramayana is read with difference in Northern and Southern Orissa and they have been named Dandi Ramayana and Dakshini Ramayana respectively. Although Balaram Dasa has other works to his credit, he is famous for his Ramayana in each and every Oriya home. In later times, Purusottama Dasa, Krushna Charan Pattnaik, Keshava Tripathy, Krupasindhu Dasa, Jagannath Dasa, Mahadev Dasa, Mahesvara Dasa and Rama Dasa also had composed Ramayanas in Oriya language.

Vilanka Ramayana written closely following the Sanskrit Adbhuta Ramayana which contains the episodes of Sahasrasira Ravana is available in Orissa. Baranidhi Dasa, Siddheswar Dasa, Balaram Dasa and Sarala Dasa have viewed this particular incident of Sahasrasira Ravana from different angles. Apart from Ramayana, Bhagavata is another popular work. The sixteenth century Vaishnava poet Atibadi Jagannath Dasa had composed Bhagavata for the first time in an Eastern India language. Like Sarala Dasa and Balaram Dasa he has also given mention of Orissan culture. As Bhagavata rose to fame in Eastern India. The Bhasabandha Bhagavata



was composed by Sanatana Vidya-bagisa in Bengal. The poet has acknowledged the greatness of Jagannath Dasa in his works, in the following lines:

“शुन सुन स्रोतगन करि निवेदन ।  
 प्रथम हृदते भाखा निखिनु आपन ॥  
 दशमेर शेष षष्ठ भाखा ना पाइन ।  
 अनेकत पाशि ग्रामे ग्रामे वेड़ाइन ॥  
 ये हय उत्कल भाषा करिल लिखन ।  
 जगन्नाथ दास कृत अपूर्व वर्णन ॥  
 एये साधुगन मोर दोष न लइबे ।  
 भागवत साधुवाक्य आनन्दे सुनिबे ॥  
 ग्रन्थ समापन हूँते उत्कण्ठा हृदयां ।  
 बंगज भाषाय उत्कल मिश्रदयां ॥”

(श्रावक-ध भागवत B/10 राज्य संग्रहालय पोथि)

Jagannath Dasa has also other works. In the light of the Bhagavata of Jagannath Dasa, Janaki Ballava Kara Sharma of Bhograi in North Orissa has composed another Bhagavata in 18th century A.D. Besides the thirteenth chapter of Bhagavata by Dwaraka Dasa, the 12th chapter of Bhagavata by Mahadev Dasa. Gupta Bhagavata by another Jagannath Dasa, Bhagavat Bala Charit by Ganesvara Dasa, Bhagavata Mahatmya by Padmanava Dasa, Bhagavata Ratnamala by Krishna Dasa and Ananta Dasa, Bhakti Vibheda Bhagavata by Sadhu Charan, Lilamruta Bhagavata by Vipra Uddhava are noted works.

Besides Bhagavata, Astadasa Purana, Upapurana, Mahatmya, Samhita and Gita were also composed in Orissa. Out of these Bhagavata Lahari Harivamsa of Achyutananda Dasa, Markendaya Purana and Vishnu Kesari Purana of Mahadeva Dasa, Magha Mahatmya of Krishna Dasa, Margasira Mahatmya of Krupasindhu Dasa, Nrusingha Purana of Pitambar Dasa, Brahmapurana of Balarama Dasa,

Brahma Samhita of Sridhara Dasa, Padma Purana of Nilambara Dasa, Radhadamodara Purana of Gouranga Dasa, Kartika Mahatmya of Mahadev Dasa, Dayalu Dasa, Govinda Dasa, and Purusottama Dasa, Kalindi Purana of Krushna Charan Dasa, Kapila Samhita of Nilakantha Dasa, Ekadasi Mahatmya of Dibakara, Jagannath, Dinakrishna and Harekrushna, Itihasa Purana of Purusottoma Narendra, Arsha Ramayana of Krushna Chandra Rajendra, Astadasa Purana of Gopinath Dasa, Agni Purana of Balunki Dasa, Surya Purana of Raghunath Dasa, Adhyatma Ramayana of Gopal Telanga, Haladhara Dasa, Damodara Dasa are available in Orissa.

## MEDIEVAL ORIYA POETRY

Oriya poetry has several sections such as Samhita, Geeta, Malika, Bhajana, Janana, Chautisa, Chaupadi, Chitau, Poi, Boli, Padia, Champu, Pala, Suanga, Lila, Rasa, Yatra, Vratkatha, Samara Sahitya and Chhanda.

The golden age of Oriya Literature was the period from the advent of 15th century to the first of 19th century. The two main aspects of Aryan culture on which pan-Indian literary works are based on Rama and Krishna, had equally spread to Orissa. Oriya works are eloquent in describing the Lilas of both Rama and Krishna in the light of Sanskrit poetry. During this period hundreds of Chhanda Kavyas, Padias, Bolis, about five thousand Chautisas, more than a lakh of Chaupadis, about twenty pois, more than fifty Koilis, have been contributed by the Oriya poets. Those who had spearheaded this great literary movement are Arjuna Dasa, Narasingha Sena, Bishnu Dasa, Dhananjaya Bhanja, Rasa Kavi Banamali Dasa, Dinakrishna Dasa, Upendra Bhanja, Sadananda Kavi Surya, Brahma, Brajanath Bada Jena, Dinbandhu Raj,

Harichandan, Bhakta Charan, Abhimanyu Samant Simhara, Salabega, Banamali Dasa, Gopal Krushna, Kavisurya Baladeva Rath and Gaurahari Parichha. Each one of them is a radiating unit subscribing to the total evolution of Oriya literature. They have inspired a number of followers who have adopted these styles in their works. They are Pitambara Deva and Akhila Rasa Chintamani, Kesava Rath and Ananga Rangini, Syama Sundar Deva and Anuraga Kalpalata, Ramachandra Patnaik and Anuragavati, Padmanabha Sri Chandan and Ichhavati, Sadhu charan Dasa and Udebakhara, Dwija Sridhara and Kanchanalata, Gajapati Mukunda Deva and Krushna Abhilasha, Natabara Bhramaravar and Krushna Kalpalata, Dhananjaya and Krishna Krida Kavya, Bansi Dasa and Gaura Kalasa, Sapta Raga Chautisa on Gopalila and Lokanath Vidyaehar, Goura Chandra, Bhramarvara and Govinda Mangala, Gopinath Dasa and Govind Vilasa, Madhava Rath and Chaitanya Vilasa, Bhakta Rama Dasa and Janakisha Vilasa, Madhusudan and Tulsi Ramayana, Maguni Jyotisa and Deula Tola, Balabhadra Nrupa and Nalacharita, Jayaratha and Narada Saptanga, Sadananda Kavisurya Brahma and Nistha Nilamani, Raghunath Paricha and Nrutya Bhagavata, Kshirod Mali and Padmanava Janma, Bhagavata Dasa and Banajavati, Bihari Parsuram Dasa and Brahma Geeta, Janaki Vallabha Kara and Bhagavad Gita, Dasarathi Singha and Bhagavad Gita, Upendra Bhanja and Narada Purana, Kaviraja Madhusudan and Madan Manjari, Vasudeva Dasa and Mahabharata Chhanda, Gadadhar Dasa and Mahalakshmi Purana, Kshatriyavara Bhanja and Rasanidhi, Syama Sudan Bhanja and Rasa Ratnakara. Raghunath Parichha and Radhakrushna Parihasa Chintamani, Maguni Patnaik and Ramachandra Vihara, Krishna Chandra Rajendra and

Ramalila, Karunakara Dasa, Yadu Krishna Dasa, Sudama Dasa, Deva Narayana, Bipra Somanath and Lakshmi Purana, Dharmadeva Nrupati and Lavanya Tarangini, Purusottama Dasa and Lavanyalata, Pura Patnaik and Lavanya Lilavati, Nalinaksha Mardaraja and Lavanyanidhi, Gangadhar Mishra and Vishnu Rasarnava, Lokanath Dasa and Vraja Vinod.

Besides this long list of lesser known writers with their works we have also women poets who have composed several works with merit. They are Madhavi Dasi, Rani Mohan Kumari, Rani Kshirod Mali, Krishnapriya Jema, Sivapriya Dei, Kalpalata Jema, Madhuri Dasi, Brundavati Dasi and others.

Historical poems, prose and translations each form a separate component of Oriya literature. We get a good number of palm leaf manuscripts of those varieties. A few of them have been published and a sizeable numbers await printing, which after publication will throw a flood of light on the medieaval literary works of India.

Oriyas have also written books in Bengali and Hindi out of which Bengali predominates. Among the Bengali works by the Oriya poets, Krishnalila of Ramananda Patnaik, Manasamangala of Dwarika Dasa, Govardhan Utsaba of Goura Chandra Parichha, Basanta Rasa of Pindika Srichandan, Jayananda Pala of Raghunath Dasa, Dolarasa of Natabara Dasa, Dwarika Pala in the light of Lakshmipurana of Sitala Charan Dasa, Navanuraga of Syamabandhu Patnaik, Ganga Mahatmya of Jagannath Dasa, Bhuvana Mangala of Raghunath Dasa, Siddhanta Chandrika of Ramachandra Dasa, and Palas of Kavi Karna are important to note. Similarly in Hindi works Brajaboli Geeta of Rama-

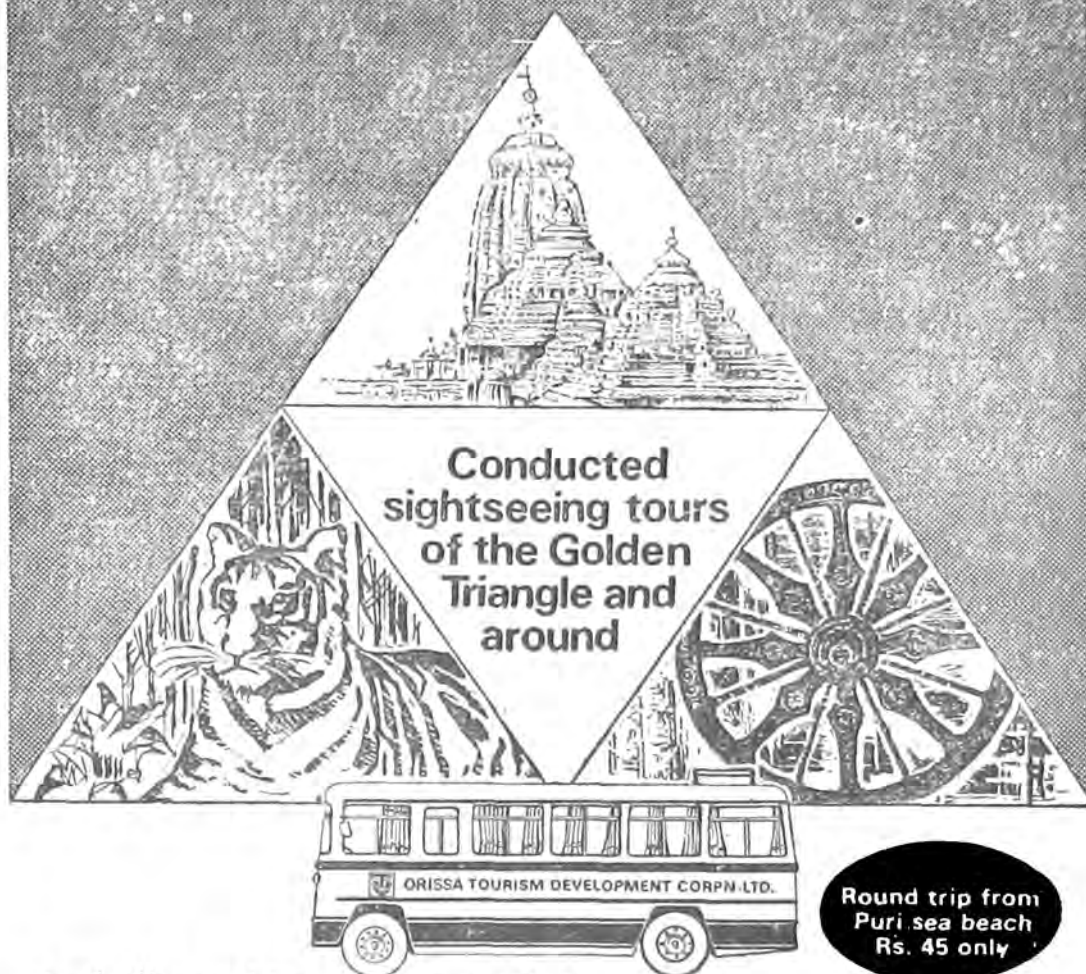
nanda Pattnaik, Jaya Chandrika of Prahallad Dube, Gundicha Vije of Brajanath and other twenty writers, Hindi poems are available in the palm leaf manuscripts. Besides manuscripts written in Telugu, Bengali, Tamil, Sarada, Newari, Persian, Urdu are also preserved in the manuscript gallery of the Orissa State Museum. The illustrated palm leaf manuscripts of Orissa are a special attraction to any visitor of any part of the world. The illustrations on a small

oblong format of palm leaf with the help of a iron stylus are the work of highly gifted Oriya artists. These speak of their tremendous patience and artistic ability. Among these are Amaru-Satak, Bidagadha Madhav, Geeta Govind, Usha Vilasa, Mathura Mangala, Basant Rasa, Chitra Kavya Bandhodaya, Artatrana Chautisa, Na'-Poi, Dasa Poi, Adhyatmya Ramavana, Bhagabad Gita Mala, and Gitagovinda on ivory plates impress the onlookers.





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# Orissa State Civil Supplies Corporation Limited

CUTTACK-PURI ROAD, BHUBANESWAR-6

## Aims & Objectives :

1. Procurement of rice in the open market and internal distribution through Public Distribution System.
2. Lifting of rice, wheat and levy sugar and wheat from F. C. I. depots and distribution to consumers through public distribution system.
3. Import of edible oils i.e. Palmolein, Refined Rape seed oil and R. B. D. Palm oil (Ghee) Mustard oil and distribution through public distribution system.

## Achievement from the date of inception :— 1

1. Procurement of 1,22,000 MT and 1,26,000 (till July, 82) in term of rice during the Kharif year 80-81 and 81-82 respectively and issue of 97,000 MT and 177,000 MT of rice for internal distribution through Public Distribution System during the concerned Kharif years.
2. Lifting and distribution of 11,170 MT levy sugar and 7,000 MT wheat per month and distribution through Public Distribution System as per monthly Government allotment.
3. 4,826 MT Palmolein, 7,709 MT Refined Rape seed oil and 447 R. B. D. Palm oil (ghee) so far lifted and distributed in the State through Public Distribution @ Rs. 11.00 per Kg.
4. 2,300 MT pure mustard oil so far imported and under distribution at the prevailing open market price of the locality per litre to the consumers.
5. Import of 40 tonnes of both Konark and Grihalaxmi Brand Tea from Tea Trading Corporation of India and distribution to consumers @ Rs. 18.30 and Rs. 16.00 per Kg. respectively.
6. One Model Fair Price Shop each at Buxibazar Super Market of Cuttack City and Sahidnagar Market place of Bhubaneswar so far opened by the Corporation directly and permission given to 108 unemployed graduates in different districts of the State to open such shops for distribution of essential commodities at fixed price to vulneration section of the society.
7. To arrest price rise of rice in the open market Corporation is selling rice at a cheaper rate compared to open market price in Bhubaneswar and Cuttack.
8. Sale of control rice in weekly hats to the consumers of syclone affected area at Cuttack and Balasore district.
9. Procurement and supply of rice Chuda, Atta, Gur, Potatos, Onion, Dal, Candle, Match Box, Kerosine oil, Petroleum and Diesel to emergency relief for distribution to the affected people of State due to last unprecedented flood.

